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FRIENDSHIP AND COMMITMENT IN A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

(THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB OF EDMONTON)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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EDMONTON, ALBERTA

MAY, 1966

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "Friendship and Commitment in a Voluntary Association, the University Women's Club of Edmonton" submitted by Frances Anita Puffer in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

The relationship between friendship and organizational commitment is explored through the use of questionnaire and interview data from a sample of sixty-three members of the University Women's Club of Edmonton. This is a voluntary association having a wide range of activities for its members including very expressive (sociable) and very instrumental (social-action) activities.

Using two scales devised by Jacoby, respondents were classified as to whether they perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive and/or instrumental aims. Perception of the University Women's Club as having instrumental aims was found to be related to influencing new members to join the association. The manner in which respondents perceive the association at present was not found to be related to the manner of joining. The data suggest that most members join the association for expressive reasons, and that the upwardly mobile members tend to work in the association and make close friends. These friends tend to make such members aware of the instrumental aspects of the association.

Each respondent was asked to choose and describe the relationship with the person closest to her in the association. Perception of the association was related to the types of friendship formed, but not in the expected manner. Those who perceived the association to have expressive aims tended to be inactive, to have few close friends in the association and to think the University Women's Club should try

to encourage friendships. These members tended to have a high status background and this may have inhibited them from taking an active part in projects aimed at increasing the status and educational opportunities for women in Canada.

Members perceiving the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims tended to have friendships strongly concerned with the association. These friendships also tended to be very close and sociable. This kind of friendship may be characteristic of associations that combine instrumental and expressive activities. Further research may find that different patterns of primary relationships occur in different kinds of secondary associations.

Friends were found to be important for commitment and activity in the association both when a member first joined and later when she became active. Members with no friends in the association when they joined tend never to become as active, and never to have as close relationships in the association, as do the members who have friends in the University Women's Club when they join.

Both dimensions of friendship, concern with the association and intimacy, were strongly related to all aspects of commitment and activity in the association, and to agreement between friends on organizational matters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sincere appreciation is extended to Dr. A.P. Jacoby for his supervision of the initial stages of this study, and to Dr. J.T. Borhek for his constructive criticism and guidance in the preparation of the manuscript. Thanks is also extended to the thesis committee members for their helpful comments and suggestions.

The author is also indebted to Dr. H.A. Parker and Mrs. Joanne Litven for assistance in the analysis of the data.

Appreciation is also due the many members of the University Women's Club of Edmonton whose kind cooperation and interest made this study possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Designation of the Problem	1
B. The Statement of the Hypotheses	2
C. The Relevance of this Problem to Sociology	6
D. The Value of Repetition in Sociology	9
II. A SUMMARY OF A STUDY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMITMENT IN THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS	11
A. Gouldner's Summary of the League Study	11
B. Gouldner's Search for Dimensions of Friendship Related to Personal Influence in the League	12
C. Gouldner's Search for Dimensions of Commitment to the League	14
D. Gouldner Hypothesized that Intimacy Would be Related to Commitment	16
E. Gouldner's Findings Regarding Friendship and Commitment in the League	18
F. Gouldner's Explanation for the lack of Relationship between Intimacy and Commitment	20
III. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEAGUE AND THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB	23
A. The Instrumental Expressive Typology of Voluntary Associations	25
1. Accessibility	25
2. Prestige or status-defining function	26
3. The Instrumental or Expressive Dimension of a Voluntary Association	26

CHAPTER	PAGE
4. All Groups Incorporate Both Instrumental and Expressive Functions	28
5. Comparison of the League and the University Women's Club on the Instrumental-Expressive Dimension	29
IV. METHODOLOGY - UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB STUDY	31
A. The Sample	31
B. Data Collection Techniques	32
C. Organizational Friendships	33
1. "Best Friend" in the Association	33
2. Friends Usually Seen by the Respondent Only in Connection with University Women's Club Activities	34
3. Friends Often Seen Socially as well as in Connection with University Women's Club Activities	34
D. Composite Indices	35
V. PERCEPTION OF THE ASSOCIATION IS RELATED TO BEHAVIOR AND IS INFLUENCED BY INTIMATE FRIENDS	38
A. Orientation to the University Women's Club	38
B. Perception of the University Women's Club	38
C. Two Scales to Indicate How Respondents Perceive the University Women's Club	40
D. Characteristics of Members of Expressive Associations as Compared with Characteristics of Members of Instrumental Associations	42
E. Perception of the University Women's Club and Organizational Behavior	43

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. FRIENDSHIP AND COMMITMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY	
WOMEN'S CLUB	50
A. Friendships of Members who Perceive the Association to Have Instrumental Aims	50
B. Friendships of Members who Perceive the Association to Have Expressive Aims	52
C. Summary - Perception and Friendships in the University Women's Club	55
D. Agreement Between Friends on Organizational Matters	57
E. Friendship and Commitment	58
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	61
Implications of the Study	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	68
APPENDIX A. Sample of the Mailed Questionnaire Used in Research	73
APPENDIX B. Sample of the Interview Schedule Used in Research	81
APPENDIX C. Comparison of the University Women's Club of Edmonton and the Sample on Selected Characteristics	87
APPENDIX D. Degree of Intimacy of Friendship with Best Organizational Friend	88
APPENDIX E. Degree to Which the Relationship with the Best Friend is Focused on the University Women's Club . .	89
APPENDIX F. Degree of Commitment to the University Women's Club.	90

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I. Number of Respondents Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Instrumental and/or Expressive Aims	41
II. Relationship of Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Instrumental Aims to Influencing others to Join	44
III. Relationship of Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Expressive Aims to Influencing Others to Join	45
IV. Relationship of Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Expressive Aims to Joining through Personal Influence	46
V. Relationship of Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Instrumental Aims to Joining Through Personal Influence	46
VI. Relationship of Intimacy with Best Friend to Friend Changing Respondent's Attitudes to University Women's Club	47
VII. Having University Women's Club Friends seen Socially Before Becoming Active and Intimacy with Best Friend	48
VIII. Relationship of Father's Occupational Status to Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Expressive Aims	49
IX. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Instrumental Aims and Having a Friendship Focused on the Association	51
X. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Instrumental Aims and Having Friends only seen in the Association	51
XI. Having a Friendship Focused on the University Women's Club and Degree of Intimacy with Best Friend	52

TABLE

PAGE

XII. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Expressive Aims and Thinking the Association Should Encourage Friendships	53
XIII. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Expressive Aims and Intimacy with Best Friend in the Association	54
XIV. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Expressive Aims and Seeing University Women's Club Friends Socially	54
XV. Relationship of When Respondent Joined to Perceiving the University Women's Club to have Expressive Aims	55
XVI. Perceiving the University Women's Club to Have Expressive Aims and the Number of Close Friends in Edmonton	55
XVII. Relationship of Intimacy with the Best Friend to Agreement on Organizational Matters	58
XVIII. Relationship of Number of Friends to Commitment	59
XIX. Intimacy with the Best Friend and Commitment to the University Women's Club	59
XX. Having Friends Seen Socially before Becoming Active and Degree of Activity in University Women's Club Now	60

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Designation of the Problem

This study is concerned with friendship and commitment in a voluntary association, The University Women's Club of Edmonton. The act of joining a voluntary association is often the result of the influence of friends.¹ One goal of this study will be to determine whether commitment to a voluntary association is also the result of personal influence. Commitment is used in a global sense, referring to the degree of enthusiasm, activity and loyalty a member has to the association as a whole.²

Friendship may be of different kinds.³ It may be that different kinds of friendship are formed in different kinds of voluntary associations.⁴ The second focus of this study will be on the kinds of friendship found in the University Women's Club.

In 1959 a study of the dimensions of friendship and commitment in the Los Angeles League of Women Voters⁵ found two kinds of friendship of importance to organizational commitment. "Intimate" friendships were close, diffuse relationships. "Task-oriented" friendships were focused on the work of the association and lacked

¹David L. Sills, The Volunteers (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 111.

²Helen B. Gouldner, "The Organization Woman: Patterns of Friendship and Organizational Commitment," (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1959), 13.

³Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed. by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), 326.

⁴Gouldner, op. cit., 154.

⁵Gouldner, op. cit.

sociability. Neither kind of friendship was related to agreement between friends on organizational matters, but both kinds of friendship were related to commitment to the organization. Unexpected findings suggested that "task-oriented" friendships were more important in this respect than intimate ones. Gouldner suggested that "task-oriented" friendships might be characteristic of very action-oriented groups, such as the League, but might not be found in a more sociable kind of voluntary association.

The League study of friendship and commitment in a very work-oriented association provided a model upon which the present study of the University Women's Club was developed. Findings in the League study provided a basis for hypotheses as to the kinds of friendship in the University Women's Club of Edmonton. This association is similar to the League in many respects, but differs in that expressive interests (sociability) are combined with social action goals. The author knows of no other study of a voluntary association of this type.

Specifically the study of the University Women's Club seeks to determine whether:

1. Two kinds of friendship corresponding to "task-oriented" and "intimate" friendships are found in the University Women's Club;
2. "Task-oriented" friendships are more important to commitment to the organization than "intimate" friendships;
3. "Task-oriented" and "intimate" friendships are related to agreement between friends on organizational matters.

B. Statement of Hypotheses

A typology of voluntary associations as to their instrumental and/or expressive function for the members⁶ provides a basis for the

⁶C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24(February, 1959), 22-29.

six hypotheses tested in this study.

Preliminary investigation of the University Women's Club indicated that members of the association differ in their opinions as to what the aims of the association are and what they should be. Members who think the association should encourage friendships are "expressively oriented" to the association, i.e. they look to the association as a source of gratifying personal relationships. Other members are "instrumentally oriented" to the association. They think that effort should be directed towards implementing the formal aims of the association (to encourage women to obtain a university education) rather than to fostering friendships among members.

Since the formally stated aims of the association are instrumental in character, it may be assumed that the association is striving to project the image of an instrumental association. However, since expressive activities such as teas, an annual dinner and many small interest groups are an important part of the program of the University Women's Club, it could be more accurately described as an instrumental-expressive association, interested both in sociability and social action.

Besides having different opinions as to what the aims of the University Women's Club should be, members also differ in their perception of what the aims of the association actually are. A scale designed by Jacoby⁷ was used to indicate whether respondents perceive the association to have instrumental and/or expressive aims. Since perception influences behavior, it was expected that the way a member perceives the association would influence that member's organizational behavior.

⁷These scales were devised by A.P. Jacoby for a study of Ukrainians in Alberta conducted by members of the Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, begun in 1964.

It was hypothesized that members who perceive the association to have instrumental aims would be similar to members of instrumental associations, and members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims would be similar to members of expressive associations. Studies of instrumental and expressive voluntary associations have shown that:

a) members of instrumental associations tend to influence members to join the association more so than do members of expressive associations; and b) members of expressive associations tend to join voluntary associations through personal influence more so than do members of instrumental associations. This then was the basis for the first two hypotheses: that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS INFLUENCE OTHERS TO JOIN THE ASSOCIATION MORE THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS. THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE IN INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN BETWEEN MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND THOSE WHO DO NOT; and that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS JOIN THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE MORE OFTEN THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS, WHILE MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS JOIN THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE LESS THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS.

The general expectation that perception of the association was related to associational behavior received some support from the data. This will be discussed in Chapter V.

The third hypothesis states that members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims are expected to be similar to

members of the League of Women Voters with regards to the kinds of friendship formed, namely task-oriented friendships focused on the association and not involving extra-associational interaction:

MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS a) WILL HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BEST FRIEND IN THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FOCUSED ON THE ASSOCIATION, and b) WILL HAVE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FRIENDS SEEN ONLY IN THE ASSOCIATION.

The first part of the hypothesis was supported by the data, but the b) part was not. Friendships of active members tend to be sociable, intimate relationships even though the friends share a strong interest in the association.

Members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims, as expected, think that the University Women's Club should encourage friendships. Such members were expected to be interested in the association as a source of satisfying and diffuse personal relationships. The fourth hypothesis states that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS

a) HAVE INTIMATE FRIENDS IN THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB, and
b) HAVE ASSOCIATIONAL FRIENDS WHO ARE OFTEN SEEN SOCIALLY AS WELL AS
IN UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB CONTEXTS.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. Members who perceive the association to have expressive aims tend not to have close friends in the association, nor do they usually see University Women's Club friends socially.

Since friends tend to be similar in many respects and since they influence each other's opinions and attitudes, the fifth hypothesis states that THE GREATER THE INTIMACY OF A FRIENDSHIP, THE GREATER THE AGREEMENT ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS. The data support this hypothesis.

Commitment to the association (the degree of loyalty, interest and enthusiasm about the association in general) is considered to be in part the result of personal influence. The sixth hypothesis states that THE MORE CLOSE FRIENDS IN THE ASSOCIATION, THE GREATER THE COMMITMENT TO THE ASSOCIATION. This hypothesis is also supported by the data.

In summary, the relationship between perception of the University Women's Club and organizational behavior is studied in three ways: how members joined the association, whether members influence others to join the association, and the kinds of friendships formed. Commitment to the association is studied from the point of view of the kinds of friends, the number of friends and the degree of closeness with the best friend in the association. The relationship between the degree of intimacy with the best friend in the University Women's Club and agreement on organizational matters is also considered.

C. The Relevance of this Problem to Sociology

Considerable information has been obtained about associational participation in the United States. Most studies to date have been concerned with the social characteristics of members of voluntary associations.⁸ The focus of the present study is on the interpersonal

⁸Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929); W.L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); W.A. Anderson, "The Family and Individual Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 8 (1943), 420-24; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1946), 686-98; Selz C. Mayo, "Age Profiles of Social Participation in Rural Areas of Wake County, S.C.," Rural Sociology, 15 (1950), 242-51; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working Class Families," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951), 687-93; Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), 13-19; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review,

relationships within a voluntary association. The act of joining, influencing others to join, commitment to the association and agreement on organizational matters are seen as special cases of interpersonal influence.

From a social psychological point of view, personal ties affect behavior, beliefs and values.⁹ The closer people are to each other, the more they influence each other, as in the socialization of the child in the family.¹⁰ The influence of primary relationships is also found in

21 (1956), 25-34; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces, 34 (1956), 345-50; John Scott, "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), 315-26; William M. Evans, "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations," Social Forces, 36(1957), 148-53; Basil G. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," American Sociological Review, 20 (April, 1955), 218-24; Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962); Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, The Voluntary Association in the Slum (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1962); Arthur P. Jacoby, "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership," Sociological Inquiry, 35 (Spring, 1965); A.P. Jacoby, "Personal Influence and Primary Relationships: Their Effect on Association Membership," Sociological Quarterly (in press); Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, "The Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 27 (October, 1962), 647-55.

Two Canadian studies are relevant. John R. Seeley, R.A. Sim, E. W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), Chapter V, "The Club," and Richard Laskin, Voluntary Associations in a Saskatchewan Town (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1961).

⁹ Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955); Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1947), esp. 280-347.

¹⁰ Talcott Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955); Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Family Structure and Sex-Role Learning by Children," Sociometry, 21 (March, 1958), 1-16.

friendship groups, adolescent cliques or gangs and in leisure time activities. Socialization of the individual may continue in adulthood through friends,¹¹ voluntary associations or work groups. The importance of primary relationships has been shown with regards to voting,¹² the spread of rumor,¹³ in public opinion formation and in the influence of the mass media of communication.¹⁴ A study of primary relationships is important for an understanding of the behavior of people in groups, but few studies have considered the possibility of different dimensions of friendship and how these are related to membership in secondary associations.¹⁵ There are suggestions in the literature that in work groups work-oriented friendships are important, although these are not of the diffuse, personal nature usually assumed when "primary relationships" and "personal influence" are discussed.¹⁶

Whereas primary relationships are usually considered from a social psychological perspective, commitment is usually regarded from a social organization point of view. Group cohesion, integration, group

¹¹William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956). Suburbia acts as a socializing agency for parvenus, bureaucrats and professional men on their way up.

¹²Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

¹³Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), Chapter 7, 114-31.

¹⁴Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit.

¹⁵Gouldner, op. cit. The terms "association" and "organization" will be used interchangeably to refer to voluntary associations, as is the practice in the literature.

¹⁶Fred E. Fiedler, "Interpersonal Perception and Group Effectiveness," in Person Perception and Interpersonal Behavior, Renato Tagiuri and Luigi Petrullo (eds.) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 234-57; Gouldner, op. cit., 155-58.

morale, and the stability, power¹⁷ or relative prestige of groups are all related to the degree of commitment of members to the group. The general level of public interest or public apathy in a society may be related to the degree of participation in voluntary associations. Even the type of government, whether democratic or totalitarian, is related to the kinds of associations to which members of the society become committed.¹⁸ Both leaders, as an example of commitment, and the alienated, as an example of lack of commitment, reflect the general division of society into an "active minority" and a "passive majority."¹⁹ These areas of sociological interest may benefit from an increased awareness of the relationship of friendship to commitment to voluntary associations.

D. The Value of Repetition in Sociology

There is considerable value in a relatively new science such as sociology in retesting hypotheses with different groups. As noted in

The People's Choice:

Results should be checked and rechecked under both identical and varying conditions. The complexity of social life requires that the same problems be studied many times before basic uniformities can be differentiated from transitory social occurrences.²⁰

Thus the findings of the League study may have been a function of that particular organization at that particular time; it may indicate a pattern of primary relationships characteristic of work-oriented

¹⁷Power refers to the ability of a group to achieve its objectives. See Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, rev. 1957), Ch. 9. Highly committed members working towards the group's goals may bring success to the group which increases the group's prestige both in the eyes of group members and the community in general.

¹⁸William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), 67-90.

¹⁹Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in A.W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), 477-504.

²⁰Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, op. cit., viii.

organizations in general, or maybe only of work-oriented voluntary associations.

Some of the hypotheses from the League study will be tested for the University Women's Club using very similar data-collection techniques, but with different methods of analysis. The League study, as an exploratory study, used factor analysis in an attempt to determine dimensions of friendship and dimensions of commitment to the League. A summary of the League study will be presented in Chapter II as a basis for this thesis.

CHAPTER II

A SUMMARY OF A STUDY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMITMENT IN THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS¹

The study of the University Women's Club cannot be understood apart from the 1959 study of the Los Angeles League of Women Voters upon which it is based. First a brief summary of the League study will be given in the author's own words, then the theoretical background, major hypotheses and findings will be summarized. All material in this chapter is from the League study, except for two short paragraphs in parentheses and one footnote (marked FP).

A. Gouldner's Summary of the League Study²

The relationship between friendship and organizational commitment is explored, through the use of questionnaire and interview data from a sample of sixty women in the Los Angeles League of Women Voters. Respondents were asked to choose and describe their relationship with their "closest" friend in the organization. A factor analysis of these data indicates a general factor, called "intimacy," and five subsidiary and less determinate factors which were not interpreted. A second factor analysis of organizational commitment items reveals two dimensions of commitment to the total organization, namely cosmopolitan integration and organizational introjection. . . . The factor analysis of organizational commitment lends support to prior theoretical analyses by Simon and others.

Cosmopolitan integration is used as an index of commitment to the total organization and includes items on the degree to which the individual is active in and "feels a part of" varying levels of the organization, especially the higher levels. The findings indicate that task-oriented friendships induce and reinforce cosmopolitan integration. These friendships are characterized by a lack of sociability, shared organizational activity, open communication on organizational matters, loyalty, and respect for each other's organizational roles. In contrast to current theory, intimate friendships, where there is extra-organizational interaction and discussion of personal problems, do not play a crucial role. . . .

¹Gouldner, op. cit. Only the parts of the League study that were relevant to the University Women's Club study have been included.

²Ibid., 222.

None of the various elements of friendship measured in this study are related to agreement between friends on the specific organizational values studied.

A subsidiary analysis of qualitative data shows that, in general, friendships are conducive to commitment at every phase of the commitment process: joining the organization, undertaking organizational tasks, broadening the base of sociability and organizational activity, and, finally, in the last phase, where there is mutual reinforcement of organizational activity and friendship.

B. Gouldner's Search for Dimensions of Friendship Related to Personal Influence in the League³

As a preliminary step in an exploratory study of the interrelationship of different dimensions of friendship to different dimensions of commitment, Gouldner examined relevant literature⁴ in order to select concepts which had been used both to describe friendship and to account for the mutual influence of friends. She considered ten concepts to be potentially conducive to interpersonal influence in an organizational context. These are listed below with samples of the interview items which were developed operationalizing each category:⁵

³This section summarizes Chapter 3, 31-56.

⁴Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson and Co., 1955), 124-26; Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization, in The Two Major Works of Charles H. Cooley (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), 23; Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: MacMillan, 1949), 294-98; Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as Social Process," in M. Berger, T. Abel and C.H. Page eds. Freedom and Control in Modern Society (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954), 18-66; Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1952), 238-98; Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), 58-67; Edward A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group," in D. Lerner and H.D. Lasswell, eds. The Policy Sciences (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1951), 44-69; Ferdinand Toennies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (1887), reprinted and ed. by C.P. Loomis as Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (New York: American Book Co., 1940); Ralph H. Turner, "The Family," in Broom and Selznick, Sociology, op. cit., 390-1.

⁵Gouldner, op. cit., 35-37. An eleventh category, "Validation of the organizational self-image" was omitted as irrelevant to this thesis. Gouldner describes these categories as "a paradigm codifying the diverse general orientations which have been held to be relevant by various scholars. Both theory and research in the area of friendship and interpersonal influence are not, as yet, far enough advanced to permit a less conjectural and more systematic organization of the component elements." 38.

1. Intimacy: lack of restraint and formality in interaction. Do you ever talk over your personal problems with each other?
2. Diffuseness: variation in the kinds of activities engaged in together. How often do you see each other socially, that is, apart from League activities?
3. Positive sentiments: feelings of liking and admiration toward the other. In general, how much do you like her?
4. Lack of tension: feelings of relaxation and being at ease with the other. When you are with her do you feel comfortable and at ease?
5. Introjection:⁶ the taking of the standpoint of the other toward one's own behavior. Would you feel uncomfortable if you did something she disapproves of?
6. Organizational Respect: favorable attitudes toward the organizational role behavior of the other. As you know, the League places a great value on the objective point of view. How much of this does she have?
7. Organizational value homophily:⁷ agreement on opinions and beliefs about the League. In general, to what extent do you have the same opinions and beliefs about the League?
8. Identification:⁸ a sense of "belongingness" or attachment to the other. Would it really make some difference to you if for some reason you were not to see her again?
9. Amount of interaction: gross amount of contact regardless of content or context. In general how much do you talk with her?
10. Subliminal communication:⁹ prediction of the other's behavior and feelings from non-verbal cues. When you are together, is it possible to tell what she is thinking even though she does not express her thoughts fully?

Answers to the interview items with respect to the respondents' closest friend in the League were factor analyzed in a preliminary

⁶Ralph H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint and Reference-Group Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (Jan., 1956), 316-28. Introjection is closely related to the concept of reflexive role-taking.

⁷Lazarsfeld and Merton, op. cit., 23-24.

⁸This concept has a variety of definitions in the literature. The meaning here corresponds most closely to that used by Turner, "The Family," in Sociology by Broom and Selznick, op. cit.

⁹Broom and Selznick, op. cit., 125.

attempt to delineate the dimensions of friendship. One general friendship factor emerged which was named "intimacy" because the items with high loadings had all been grouped on either the intimacy or diffuseness categories¹⁰ and included the sharing of personal problems and confidences, interacting in homes in addition to organizational contexts, spontaneous chatting on the telephone and detailed knowledge about the friend.

(For the University Women's Club study an index of the degree of intimacy with the best friend in the association was developed using items from the League study that had high loadings on the intimacy factor. The items and scoring procedure are given in Appendix D, page 88.)

C. Gouldner's Search for Dimensions of Commitment to the League¹¹

Commitment is used in a global sense, referring to the degree of participation, loyalty and enthusiasm a member has for an association. The ways in which individuals attach themselves to groups is of basic importance to sociology. Commitment may differ in form as well as in degree. Herbert Simon¹² has found that commitment to an organization as a whole may be distinct from commitment to its specific values, policies or goals. Commitment to some values may be independent of commitment to others. Members may be committed to subgroups, to an executive position, or to people as in the case of a close friend. Coleman suggests

¹⁰These two dimensions of friendship would be expected to occur together. As friendships become more intimate, that is unrestrained and more informal, interaction in and communication about a great variety of activities and interests would be expected. Gouldner describes factor analysis as "a method for identifying a multiplicity of items which cluster together . . . (or) a basis for identifying the latent dimensions underlying the cluster of items thus revealed." A factor similar to the "intimacy" factor was identified by Jack Block, "The Assessment of Communication: Role Variation as a Function of Interactional Context," Journal of Personality, 21 (1952), 272-86.

¹¹Gouldner, op. cit. This section summarizes Ch.IV, 72-125.

¹²Herbert A. Simon, D.W. Smithburg, and V.A. Thompson, Public Administration (New York: Knopf, 1950), 94-100.

similar differences between "idea-oriented" and "group-oriented"

members.¹³ Gouldner notes that

Differences in the kind (as well as the amount) of commitment an individual has to a group are likely to affect the degree and kind of influence that the group can exert upon him. Similarly, the identification of different forms of organizational commitment should also contribute to our understanding of such group attributes as cohesion. The studies of Festinger, Schachter, Back, Emerson and others¹⁴ assume that group cohesion is a unidimensional variable. However, if the individual's commitment to the group is one force generating group cohesion, and if there are several distinct forms of commitment to a group, it is likely that there are several distinguishable forms of group cohesion.¹⁵

Interview items dealing with commitment to the organization as a whole were obtained from the literature and from preliminary field work. Items sought to reveal integration (the degree to which the individual feels a part of the varying levels of the organization); the degree of enthusiasm about the League; the willingness to give up other activities for the League; the degree of general participation and the number of leadership positions held. Gouldner comments:¹⁶

The assumption here, of course, is that participation is behavior which most directly reflects commitment attitudes and that in the

¹³James S. Coleman, "Multidimensional Scale Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (1957), 255. This is similar to the first two of the three basic orientations Borhek found among members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, namely doctrine oriented, group oriented and community oriented. J.T. Borhek, "Social Bases of Participation in the SDA Church," unpublished Master's thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1960. FP.

¹⁴For a review of several studies in this area see L. Festinger, "Informal Social Communication," Psychological Review, 57 (1950), 271-82. See also Richard M. Emerson, "Deviation and Rejection: An Experimental Replication," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), 688-93.

¹⁵Gouldner, op. cit., 72.

¹⁶Ibid., 76; James G. March, "Group Norms and the Active Minority," American Sociological Review, 19 (December, 1954), esp. 735-36.

case of office holding, the selection of an individual for a leadership position implies she has been defined by others as committed and her acceptance of the position is again behavior reflecting her commitment.

Factor analysis was again used to determine dimensions of commitment. The factor used as an index of commitment to the organization as a whole was named "cosmopolitan integration" because loadings were high on items regarding the extent to which members felt they were a real part of the national and state levels of the League, with slightly lower loadings on the degree to which they identified with the city and branch levels. Other items high on this factor included attendance at meetings, general level of activity, preferring the League but also belonging to other organizations, enthusiasm and willingness to give up time in other organizations for the League.

(For the University Women's Club study an index of the degree of commitment to the organization as a whole was developed using items with high rankings on the "cosmopolitan integration" factor. This index is described in Appendix F, page 90.)

D. Gouldner Hypothesized that Intimacy Would be Related to Commitment¹⁷

Intimacy is important for personal influence in two ways:

1) intimate relationships are highly valued and 2) intimate relationships involve open channels of communication. Gouldner hypothesized that intimacy would be important in influencing individuals to join the association, in becoming committed to the League, and in agreement between League friends on organizational matters, for the following reasons. There are pressures toward consensus in any group and in any friendship.¹⁸

¹⁷Gouldner, op. cit., this section summarizes 126-133.

¹⁸Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Bros., 1950), 167.

Therefore, if a member has friends who are active, committed members of the League, she will feel both direct and indirect pressures to become active and committed herself. Intimate relationships are highly valued. In Gouldner's words, they are "intrinsically enjoyable, satisfy needs for communication, acceptance, warmth and love . . . (therefore the member) willingly makes adaptations to maintain the relationship."¹⁹

Since intimacy involves an active and broad channel of communication about many aspects of the organization,²⁰ the member takes on her intimate friend's opinions about the organization. She finds the organization more attractive if she has friends in it, and the success of the organization comes to mean the success of her friends. "The sense of loyalty toward intimate friends seems to become generalized to the organization at large."²¹

Intimacy and influence are clearly connected in the family and there have been studies that show the homogeneity of family opinion,²² or the relationship between intimacy and agreement.²³ Katz and Lazarsfeld have reviewed small group studies which show the importance of intimacy to interpersonal influence. They state,

¹⁹Gouldner, op. cit., 128.

²⁰Turner, op. cit. "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint and Reference Group Behavior," 322; Festinger, Schachter and Back, op. cit.

²¹Gouldner, op. cit., 130.

²²T.M. Newcomb and G. Svehla, "Intra-Family Relationships in Attitudes," Sociometry, 1 (1937), 180-205; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, op. cit., 140-45.

²³Clifford Kirkpatrick and Charles Hobart, "Disagreement, Disagreement Estimate, and Non-Empathetic Imputations for Intimacy Groups Varying from Favorite Date to Married," American Sociological Review, 19 (February, 1954), 10-19. The degree of disagreement was found to decrease as the degree of intimacy increased.

We shall refer interchangeably to primary groups, small groups, intimate social ties, interpersonal relations . . . and it will be shown that intimate groups of all kinds affect the opinions and attitudes of their members in spheres of thought and action that often go far beyond the group's immediate concerns.²⁴

This then is the basis for Gouldner's expectation that "intimacy would be a source of influence on individuals' group attachments."²⁵

E. Gouldner's Findings Regarding Friendship and Commitment in the League

1. Friends Influence Others to Join and to Become Active in the League

Analysis of the qualitative data showed that friends were very important in persuading new members to join the League and in encouraging them to become active once they had joined. Gouldner notes that

the relationship between friendship and commitment is a powerful one because they reinforce each other; those with many friends tend to become committed and once committed develop an ever-expanding circle of friends, which in turn reinforces the initial commitment.²⁶

2. Having Friends in the League was Related to Commitment but Intimacy with the Best Friend was Not

Organizational commitment was treated as a special case of personal influence. Since intimate relationships affect an individual's values, attitudes and behavior, Gouldner suggested that commitment to the League would be the result of the influence of friends. As expected, the number of social friends (League friends whom the member often saw socially as well as in the League) was related to the degree of commitment. (The factor named "cosmopolitan integration" was used as

²⁴Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955), 48.

²⁵Gouldner, op. cit., 132.

²⁶Ibid., 28; most members join voluntary associations through personal influence, see Sills, op. cit., and A.P. Jacoby, "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership," Sociological Inquiry, 35 (Spring, 1965), 172; and A.P. Jacoby, "Personal Influence and Primary Relationships: Their Effect on Association Membership," Sociological Quarterly (in press).

the index of commitment to the League as a whole.)

However, unexpectedly, the number of friends the member saw only in the League (called "working" or "task-oriented" friends) was found to be more important to commitment than the number of social friends.

Of those who have few working friends, there is a low level of cosmopolitan integration regardless of the number of intimate friends. On the other hand, among those with many working friends, those with few intimate friends tend to have a low level of cosmopolitan integration while those with many intimate friends tend to have a high level. Thus, the possessing of many intimate friends is conducive to cosmopolitan integration primarily where one also has a large number of working friends.²⁷

This is consistent with the finding that the degree of intimacy with the best friend was not related to commitment to the League. In fact, if the intimacy factor is taken to be a general friendship factor, commitment to the League may not be related to friendship in the way the term is usually understood (i.e., an intimate, diffuse relationship).²⁸

3. Gouldner_Found_that_Friendship_was_not_Related_to_Agreement Between_Friends_on_Organization_Matters²⁹

Since friendships are formed between people who are similar and because of the mutual influence between friends, friends tend to agree on values.³⁰ Gouldner hypothesized that the degree of intimacy with the best friend would be related to agreement between the respondent and her

²⁷ Gouldner, op. cit., 139.

²⁸ Ibid., 142.

²⁹ Lazarsfeld and Merton, "Friendship as Social Process," op.cit., suggest the word "homophily" to mean agreement between friends, as in "value homophily" meaning agreement between friends on values.

³⁰ Ibid.; and Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Study of Consensus," in R.K. Merton, et al., eds. Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, 1959), 279-83.

best friend in the League on organization matters. However, neither the degree of intimacy between friends nor the degree to which the friendship was task-oriented was found to be related to value homophily.

F. Gouldner's Explanation for the lack of Relationship between Intimacy and Commitment

A re-analysis of the qualitative materials followed findings that intimacy with the best friend was not related to commitment to the League, that friendship was not related to value-homophily, and that friends seen only in the League were more important for commitment than were social friends.

Members who were active in the League were found to have friendships mainly focused on League activities. These were named task-oriented friendships and were characterized by loyalty, open communication on League affairs, respect for each other's organizational roles and a lack of sociability. It was found that social friends brought members into the League, helped to introduce them and supported them until they became active. Then task-oriented friendships became important in increasing activity and commitment.

The importance of task-oriented friendships to commitment to the League is supported by the results of empirical studies conducted in work situations which show the influence of work associates on attitudes, values and behavior (as in restricting production).³¹ Thus interpersonal influence in work situations may be independent of intimacy and diffuseness of the relationship.

Intimacy was expected to be related to commitment because intimate relationships are highly valued and because they allow free communication.

³¹E.A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group," op. cit.

Gouldner suggests that task-oriented friendships reflect these same variables, but in a different way. Because they are specifically focused on organizational matters there is not communication between task-oriented friends on many different topics, however there is free discussion of both formal and informal organizational matters.

Social friends are valued for their warmth, security, understanding and sympathy. Task-oriented friends are also highly valued, but for different reasons. They are respected³² and they can be relied upon to carry out organizational tasks, thus helping to accomplish goals important to both friends. They offer emotional support and approval and share organizational successes and failures.³³

Gouldner suggests that the reason task-oriented friends are more important for commitment to the League than are intimate friends is that League matters are relevant to task-oriented friends, while they may be irrelevant to intimate friends.³⁴ Task-oriented friendships are focused on the League, the organization is the primary bond, while intimate friendships have many facets of interest, the League being only one of many possible bonds. In fact, the other shared interests of intimate friends may interfere with their work on League projects.

³²Keislar, in his study of adolescent friendships, noted "The factors which make face-to-face social contacts satisfying include the elements of prestige if for no other reason than the operation of prestige contagion; it is rewarding to be in the company of a prestige person." Evan R. Keislar, "A Distinction Between Social Acceptance and Prestige Among Adolescents," Child Development, 24 (1953), 276.

³³Gouldner, op. cit., 152.

³⁴The more relevant a value or behavior is to a group, in the sense of being associated with its main activities or purposes, the greater will be the influence the group can exert on it. Festinger, op. cit.; T. M. Newcomb, "The Study of Consensus," op. cit., 282.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60607
LONDON, ENGLAND W1P 8DB

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
234 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA
700 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158, USA
100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, NY 10994, USA
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Gouldner concludes,

While the data have shown that task-oriented friendships play a more crucial role than intimate friendships in commitment to the League, this may not be true of more "social" organizations, such as lodges and fraternal orders, where commitment may be relevant to intimate friendships. The League is a service and work-oriented group which places a high premium on intellectual performance and the job to be done.³⁵

A detailed summary of the League study has been given so that the interesting problems raised by this study may be understood. In view of the suggestion that task-oriented friendships may only be important in work-oriented organizations, the present study will investigate the kinds of friendship in an association combining sociable and work aspects--the University Women's Club of Edmonton, as well as the relationship of friendship to commitment and to agreement on organizational matters.

Before developing hypotheses concerning friendship and commitment in the University Women's Club, the similarities and differences between the League and the University Women's Club will be discussed in the next chapter.

³⁵ Gouldner, op. cit., 154.

CHAPTER III

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEAGUE AND THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

Because of the proliferation of voluntary associations in North American society they have been studied by many researchers and categorized in many ways. An early study by Lundberg, Komarovsky and McNery used the terms "instrumental," "mixed" and "leisure."¹ Instrumental associations were goal-oriented, seeking to accomplish some result deemed desirable by the members. Leisure associations provided enjoyable activities for the members, and mixed associations combined enjoyable and goal-oriented activities. Arnold Rose used two similar terms: "social influence" groups were those seeking to achieve a condition or change in some segment of society, and "expressive" groups were those seeking to express or satisfy the interests of the members.² These two typologies are based on the distinction between whether the association is concerned with society in general (instrumental or social influence groups) or whether it is concerned with the interests of the members (leisure or expressive groups).

Laskin employs an often-used system of classification in a study of voluntary associations in prairie towns. Thirteen categories are based on the "primary aim or character" of each organization.³ This typology would seem to be an attempt to link associations to the different

¹George Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky and M.A. McNery, Leisure: A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1934), 126-69.

²Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), 52.

³Richard Laskin, op. cit., 14.

institutional areas of society: religious, educational, economic, occupational, governmental, political, patriotic, community service, recreational, athletic, fraternal, ethnic and miscellaneous.

Warriner and Prather also categorize associations according to the main activity of the association, but they consider how the consequences were relevant to the collectivity as a whole or common to its members. If these collective functions are examined in terms of the kinds of values produced, four major types of value functions can be identified:

the activities may function to provide pleasure in the performance itself for the actors; the activities may be a vehicle for desired communication with others, the sociability function; the activities may be signs which evoke and reaffirm a valued belief system (e.g. Communion in the Christian church), the symbolic function; or the activities may produce goods, services or a change in some object(s), the productive function.⁴

Another typology developed by Gordon and Babchuk⁵ seems most useful for a discussion of the similarities and differences between the League and the University Women's Club in that it employs and interrelates three different dimensions:

1. The degree of accessibility of membership in the association;
2. The status-conferring capacity of the association; and
3. The classification of functions as instrumental, instrumental-expressive or expressive.

The League and the University Women's Club are similar on the first two variables, but differ on the last, the League being an instrumental association and the University Women's Club being instrumental-expressive.

The last dimension is similar to the first two typologies above. The terms "instrumental" and "expressive" are used following a distinction made by Parsons, for example in analyzing the social structure of the family, the male or technical expert role is instrumental and is complementary

⁴Charles K. Warriner and J.E. Prather, "Four Types of Voluntary Associations," Sociological Inquiry, 35 (Spring 1965), 138-48.

⁵C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, op. cit.

to the expressive female or emotional expert role.⁶

A. The Instrumental-Expressive Typology of Voluntary Associations

The three dimensions of this typology will be discussed as a basis for a comparison of the League and the University Women's Club.

1. Accessibility - whether membership is open to anyone, or whether restrictions are placed on who may join. Babchuk and Gordon note that the League has low accessibility because:

(although it) purports to seek members by stating minimum membership requirements, the League is highly self-conscious about its recruitment policies as a result of informal control of membership. It is predominantly an organization for college women.⁷

The University Women's Club would also be considered to have low accessibility, since it formally restricts membership to women graduates of "recognized universities."⁸

⁶T. Parsons and R.F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955). The universality of male instrumental roles and female expressive roles in the family is discussed by Morris Zelditch, Jr. in "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family; a Comparative Study," in A Modern Introduction to the Family, Normal W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, eds. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1960), 329-338. Studies of interaction in small groups show that there is a tendency for a task leader (instrumental function) and a sociometric star (expressive function) to emerge, see Chapter V of Parsons and Bales, op. cit., and R.F. Bales, "Task Roles and Social Roles in Problem Solving Groups," in E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb and E.L. Hartley, eds. Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 3rd ed. 1958).

⁷Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, The Voluntary Association in the Slum (Lincoln: The U. of Nebraska Press, 1962), 35. The following description of the typology is based on this work.

⁸Universities must be recognized by the National Federation of University Women before graduates may join the University Women's Club. In the past, wives of university faculty members who themselves held no degree could join as Associate Members. However, in 1965 it was decided that no new Associate Members would be admitted, although those presently belonging could retain their membership.

2. Prestige or status-defining function -

the capacity of an organization to bestow prestige or be associated with prestige which accrues to its members. An assumption is made that organizations can be ranked, and such ranking is related to accessibility. Organizations that promote activities that are highly valued in our society may thus achieve prestige. Ethnicity, race and status of members are also sources of status definition. Status may also accrue to an individual on the basis of achievements within the association. Members may find the status-defining function more important than the stated objectives of the association.

Babchuk and Gordon classify the League as having high prestige:

The League lends considerable support to the activities related to good government and "enlightened" voting . . . It is studiously non-partisan and confines itself to issues in government (on which the League takes a stand after extended research) and to the qualifications of candidates for office . . . The League stands for diffuse and widely held goals relating to an active and enlightened citizenry. Both the purpose and the means for its implementation are highly approved.⁹

The University Women's Club would also be categorized as a relatively high status association, due partly to the high level of education and occupation of the members. Also the formal aims embody generally accepted values in our society (higher education for women, interest in public affairs and international understanding). These aims are implemented by the study of community problems and the submission of briefs to government officials.

3. The Instrumental or Expressive Dimension of a Voluntary Association

Voluntary associations are classified in three ways according to the functions they perform for their members:

a) Expressive. One major type of association, such as hobby or sports

⁹ Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit., 34.

clubs or the YMCA, provides the framework for immediate and continuing gratification to the individual participants through activities confined and self-contained within the organization itself, i.e. the organization has no outside impact. Such associations provide activities of direct interest to the members or they help provide the satisfactions which arise out of personal fellowship. Included in this category would be honorific or status-conferring associations. In the main, orientation is not to the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future but to a flow of gratification in the present.

Expressive associations seem to be most prevalent possibly because

Expressive associations are more easily formed by the nature of the activities carried on and the goals derived from them. The kinship of expressive associations to primary groups--groups once characterized by Cooley as the "well spring of society"--suggests that the two have in common the capacity to provide many of the same satisfactions. In particular, the satisfactions can be derived from immediate activities in personal relationships. Spontaneity in activity characterizes both instrumental and expressive groups, but is most likely to be found in expressive associations.¹⁰

b) Instrumental. Certain groups do not exist primarily to furnish activities for members as an end in itself, but serve as social influence groups to maintain or create some normative condition or change. Examples are the Liberal Party or the IODE (a social action group interested in community problems and refugee relief). Members identify with the association because of goals that lie outside of the association. Instrumental groups require members to postpone gratification of personal satisfactions if these goals are to be achieved.

c) Instrumental-Expressive. Some organizations combine both instrumental and expressive functions self-consciously on a permanent basis.

¹⁰ Ibid., 121. Other things being equal, instrumental associations have a higher prestige ranking than expressive associations. Children's groups and old people's groups tend to be mainly expressive.

Such organizations are designated as instrumental-expressive. Members identify with the organization both for the fellowship it provides and for the special objectives which it seeks. For example, the Canadian Legion functions as an expressive club for convivial activities, but is also known as "the watchdog of veterans' legislation" acting to see that veterans' legal rights are respected. The Legion also has representatives on hospital boards, the Civil Service Commission Board and administers a welfare fund for needy veterans and their dependents.

Some instrumental-expressive associations have substructures which impinge internally on the members, while other substructures have an impact outside of the association. For example, the Kinsmen Club has several social committees arranging expressive activities for the members while other committees are engaged in instrumental activities such as collecting and administering funds for the control of tuberculosis, providing recreational facilities for the community, and supporting international relief projects. Therefore the activities of substructures of an association must be considered before an inference can be made regarding an organization's function.

4. All Groups Incorporate Both Instrumental and Expressive Functions

The categorization of voluntary associations as instrumental, instrumental-expressive or expressive must be regarded as an oversimplification since all groups incorporate both functions to a greater or less degree.¹¹ Homans suggests that interaction tends to lead to an increase in positive affect.¹² Activities and sentiments tend to develop above and beyond the requirements of the formal system. Also, whatever the purpose of the organization, it must incorporate expressive characteristics for the maintenance of morale. Thus an instrumental

¹¹ Ibid. 123.

¹² George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1950) 119.

association might meet the expressive requirements of its members, but for the most part the instrumental group's attainment of goals requires postponed gratification from its members. Some members may join instrumental associations in order to derive personal satisfactions from the membership. Expressive groups can also have members who are instrumentally oriented, as when adult leaders sponsor an expressive group for children such as a hobby club. All groups require some group maintenance (instrumental) activities.

An individual's orientation to the organization, its members and its activities can therefore be examined social-psychologically independent of whether the organization, sociologically defined, is instrumental, instrumental-expressive, or expressive. . . . In other words, the memberships held by some persons in an organization can be better explained in terms of purposes other than the one for which the organization ostensibly exists.¹³

5. Comparison of the League and the University Women's Club on the Instrumental-Expressive Dimension

The League is an instrumental association having an outward focus and long-range social action aims which members consider to be worthwhile, namely

to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. . . . The activities in which the members participate are directly consistent with the aims as stated.¹⁴

On the other hand, the University Women's Club self-consciously incorporates both instrumental and expressive functions on a permanent basis and is therefore an instrumental-expressive association. The formal aims are instrumental:

1. To encourage women to obtain higher education,

¹³Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit. 123. See also L. Festinger, S. Schachter and K. Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harpers and Bros., 1950) and S. Schachter, The Psychology of Affiliation (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1959) and Note 6, this chapter.

¹⁴Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit., 34.

2. To work for improvement in the social, economic and legal status of women,
3. To encourage women to take an active interest in public affairs,
4. To increase understanding between university educated women in different countries through affiliation with the International Federation of University Women.

These aims are implemented through the study of current problems and the presentation of briefs to such bodies as the Edmonton Welfare Council or the Provincial Government. At the national level the Canadian Federation of University Women acts as a pressure group regarding civil rights for Canadian women, equal pay for equal work, and such matters as succession duties as they affect women.

Expressive events are held in the form of an annual dinner and teas. Many of the twenty-five interest groups of the Edmonton Club engage in expressive activities, such as play reading or choral singing.

Thus the League and the University Women's Club are similar in status and accessibility, but differ in their function for the members. The League is concerned mainly with instrumental activities while the University Women's Club combines instrumental and expressive interests.

Preliminary observation of the University Women's Club showed that members differ in their perception of whether the association was mainly instrumental or expressive. Associational behavior such as how the member joined, influencing others to join, kinds of friendship formed and commitment may be related to the way a member perceives the association.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY - UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB STUDY

The University Women's Club of Edmonton is composed of university graduates and the wives of university professors,¹ and has both national and international affiliations. The formal aims are instrumental and include the improvement of the education and the status of women. Activities include five General Meetings each year, usually featuring a guest speaker, teas and an annual dinner. About twenty-five study groups meet independently from the rest of the association. They often have expressive aims, such as play reading or music appreciation. Several of the respondents were very active in a study group but had no other connection with the University Women's Club. Executive members, on the other hand, are usually very interested in furthering the instrumental aims.

The University Women's Club was chosen for this study because of the broad range of activities and because it resembles the League in being a high status, low accessibility association composed mainly of well educated, middle to upper-middle class, married, middle-aged women, many with school-aged children.

A. The Sample

A random sample of sixty-one members was selected from an alphabetically ordered list of the members as of January, 1965 (excluding the author who was also a member). A table of random numbers was used. Twelve of those selected were either absent from the city or refused to be interviewed. Alternates, drawn as part of the sample, were substituted. Only a small proportion of the members is extremely active

¹In the past, wives of university Faculty members who themselves held no degree could join as Associate Members. However, in 1965 it was decided that no new Associate Members would be admitted.

in the association, and few of these were included in the sample; so two very active members were also interviewed, giving a sample of sixty-three members. The sample resembles the total membership of the University Women's Club when they are compared on selected characteristics (Appendix C, p.87).

B. Data Collection Techniques

A mailed questionnaire of eight pages and an interview schedule of six pages² were mailed to each respondent, after which an interview was arranged by telephone. This procedure assured a high degree of cooperation and made the interviews very smooth and pleasant. At the interview, the mailed questionnaire was checked and any omissions or questions were discussed. Respondents had often spent much time preparing for the interview, which was usually completed in an hour or an hour and a half.³ Interviews were conducted by the author in January and February of 1965.

²Both the questionnaire and the interview schedule were adaptations of ones used in the League study. A copy of the mailed questionnaire used in the research is given in Appendix A, p. 73 and a copy of the interview schedule is given in Appendix B, p.81.

Gouldner's sample consisted of sixty active members of the League. It included the eighteen highly committed members of the City Board, and all respondents had attended at least one meeting in the past year.

³This preliminary notification of the interview may have increased the number of refusals.

This study was based on considerable background information collected through participant observation, informal interviews and from University Women's Club literature. The author had been a member of the association for approximately eight years and had attended all of the General Meetings and all of the meetings of a Sociology Study Group in 1964-5 in preparation for the study. Informal interviews were conducted with present and past presidents of the association. All of those interviewed, both formally and informally, were most cooperative and the validity of the data is judged to be high.

C. Organizational Friendships

Information on organizational friendships was based on the subjective impressions of the respondents in answer to such questions as, "How many close friends do you have in Edmonton?" and "How many belong to the University Women's Club?". Although different respondents assigned different meanings to the term "close friends" it was felt that the number of close friends that a respondent thought she had in the association would be important in determining her attitudes to the association and her degree of participation. Information was obtained about three kinds of organizational friends:

1. "Best friend" in the Association

Each respondent was asked to choose the person she felt closest to in the association and answered a series of questions about her relationship with that person. The respondent's closest friend was assumed to be representative of all of her friendships in the association. This assumption seemed to be supported by the data, since respondents who had worked in the University Women's Club with their best friend tended also to have worked with other friends in the association; if they saw their best friend socially they tended to see other University Women's Club friends socially also.

The term "best friend" may be misleading in that the respondent may have many closer friends outside of the association than she has in the University Women's Club. The term refers in this study only to the person closest to the respondent in the University Women's Club. In some cases this involves a very close relationship, while in other cases the term "friend" might be better replaced by "acquaintance" as when a respondent states that she does not know her "best friend" in the association very well.

2. Friends Usually Seen by the Respondent Only in Connection with
University Women's Club Activities

Following Gouldner's finding that task-oriented friendships showed⁴ limited sociability, respondents were asked how many of their friends in the University Women's Club they usually saw only in connection with the association. The assumption was that such friendships would be mainly concerned with organizational activities and would be lacking in sociability. It would also be expected that the respondent had not known these friends before joining the association.

To determine whether friendships formed in the University Women's Club influence members to become active in the association, respondents were asked how many close friends they saw only in the association before they became active. It may seem contradictory that friendships could be formed in the association before a member became active, but this is quite possible. A member could attend a study group such as a play reading group for many years. She would know the other members well and would consider them to be good friends although she saw them only in the study group and was not herself active in the association.

3. Friends Often Seen Socially as well as in Connection with
University Women's Club Activities

To distinguish between friendships focused on the association and friendships that are intimate and diffuse, respondents were asked how many of their close friends in the University Women's Club they often saw socially as well as in connection with the association. To investigate whether having friends in the association when a member joins is related

⁴ See Chapter II. Gouldner operationally defined task-oriented friends as those seen only in connection with the association in contradistinction to "intimate" friends, who were defined as friends seen socially as well as in connection with the League.

to commitment and activity in the association, respondents were asked if they had associational friends whom they often saw socially before they became active. Such friendships had probably been formed before the respondent joined the association.

Thus we are interested in two aspects of organizational friendships: whether they are intimate and diffuse or focused on the association, and whether they were formed in or out of the association.

D. Composite Indices

The data were punched onto three IBM cards for each respondent, which involved the use of five composite indices. Most of the items ask for a subjective judgement on the part of the respondent and thus are subject to much individual variation.

1. The Degree of Intimacy with the Best Friend⁵

The first two indices are used to investigate whether two kinds of friendship are found in the University Women's Club similar to the intimate and task-oriented friendships found in the League. The first index is designed to measure the intimacy (lack of restraint and formality in interaction) and diffuseness of the respondent's relationship with the person closest to her in the association, by such questions as, "How much do each of you know about the personal details of the other's life?".

In the League, intimate friendships were characterized by knowledge of details of the friend's family life, sociability outside of the League, free communication on a wide range of topics and the intrinsic enjoyment of the relationship. This is the dimension of friendship which the intimacy index seeks to measure. It seems to differentiate between more and less personal relationships in a group of upper-middle class

⁵ Items for this index were adapted from the League study.

women although it may not be able to measure the degree of intimacy of friendships in general. Such an instrument would be a very useful tool.

Items and scoring for this index are given in Appendix D, p. 88. The twenty-seven respondents with high scores were said to have a very close relationship with their best friend.

2. The Degree to which the Relationship with the Best Friend is Focused on the University Women's Club

This index was designed to measure the extent to which the respondent and the person closest to her in the association had worked together and how much they had discussed the association. A shared concern for organizational matters was one important characteristic of task-oriented friendships, which Gouldner found to be important for commitment to the League. Lack of sociability, which was also a characteristic of task-oriented friendships, was investigated separately.

It is possible that direct questions might have given a better indicator of the degree to which friends were concerned with the University Women's Club. Some respondents mentioned that they often saw their best friend in connection with some other association which was of importance to them. Thus they may have had a task-oriented friendship focused on some other organization.

Since the formal aims of the University Women's Club are instrumental, and several items in this index are concerned with the formal aims, it is also an index of the degree to which the respondent and her friend share an interest in the instrumental aspects of the Club.

The items and scoring procedure are given in Appendix E, p. 89. Thirty-one respondents were classified as being high on this index.

3. The Degree of Commitment to the Association as a Whole

This index was designed to measure the degree of participation in

and enthusiasm for the University Women's Club as a whole.⁶ It included a self-rating on activity in the association during the past year, how enthusiastic the respondent was about the association, and how many committee or executive positions she had ever held. No attempt was made to weight different kinds of participation according to their relative degree of importance. Also the fact that past and present executive and committee positions were given equal weight assumes a consistency in commitment over time which may not actually exist.

As in the case of the second index, the answers to direct questions, such as the self-rating on current activity, may have provided a better indicator of commitment than did this composite index. Appendix F, p. 90, lists the items and scoring procedure. Twenty-eight respondents were said to have a high degree of commitment.

4 and 5 The Degree to Which the Respondent Perceives the University Women's Club to have Instrumental and/or Expressive Aims

These two indices will be discussed in Chapter V. The scale concerned with the expressive aspects of the University Women's Club differentiated between the members who thought the association should encourage friendships and those who did not. The second scale distinguished between those who were interested in the social action aspects of the University Women's Club and those who were interested in sociability. The last statement showed some ambiguity. Some members felt that if the association was "providing relaxation" this was a worthwhile and desirable result. This answer would indicate an expressive function rather than the instrumental function the statement was designed to indicate.

⁶Items for this index were adapted from the League study.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTION OF THE ASSOCIATION IS RELATED TO BEHAVIOR AND IS INFLUENCED BY INTIMATE FRIENDS

A. Orientation to the University Women's Club

When the University Women's Club was formed about 1910 all members were probably aware of both the instrumental and expressive functions of the association. However, many years have passed, the association has grown to over three hundred members and the instrumental aims have lost some of their urgency as university education for women has become more accessible. There is some evidence that the expressive activities are presently more visible to the community and to potential members than are the instrumental aims.¹

Preliminary investigation showed that some members are mainly interested in the instrumental aims, i.e. they are instrumentally oriented to the association. Members who are mainly interested in the expressive activities are expressively oriented to the association. Orientation of members may be inferred from their reasons for belonging and from the way they participate. Instrumentally oriented members work for the instrumental aims of the association and consider these to be an important reason for belonging. Expressively oriented members look for satisfying interpersonal relationships within the association and consider these to be important.

B. Perception of the University Women's Club

Whereas orientation to the association would refer only to

¹Several members commented that they had no idea the University Women's Club did "such worthwhile things" before they joined the association.

members, both members and non-members may perceive the association as being instrumental, instrumental-expressive or expressive. Orientation to and perception of the association may be different. For example, if a member said, "I just belong because I like the people. I'm not really very concerned with the aims of the association, although most members think they are very important," she would be expressively oriented to an association that she perceived to be instrumental.²

The importance of perception in influencing both behavior and attitudes has been noted by W.I. Thomas and pragmatists such as William James, who say that we must "judge an idea in terms of its 'consequences' without insisting upon too exacting an inquiry into its intrinsic truth." For example, "The sociologist may not believe in magic. This, however, is no excuse for ignoring those factors in a people's conduct determined by their ideas of magic."³ Similarly the authors of The People's Choice note that "the (social class) identifications which people make in their own minds are more important in determining their vote than is their objective occupation."⁴

The way in which a person perceives things can tell us something about the person himself. This is the basis of projective psychological tests. Perception is

somehow limited by (the perceiver's) own personal or vicarious experience as a person. . . . The perceiver . . . is selectively tuned to perceive certain events in preference to certain others;

²Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit., 44.

³Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1960), 349.

⁴Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, op. cit., 20. For a discussion of how voters perceive events in the political world, see B. Berelson, P. Lazarsfeld and W. McPhee, "Political Perception," in Readings in Social Psychology, edited by E.E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb and E.L. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1958), 72-85.

and when the task is ambiguous enough, as complex events can often be, he will select and interpret the evidence accordingly.⁵

The variety of activities presented by the University Women's Club allows members to perceive the association in different ways. Associational behavior is expected to be related to perception.

C. Two Scales to Indicate How Respondents Perceive the University

Women's Club⁶

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed in full, partly or disagreed with the following six statements with regards to the University Women's Club in general:

1. Three statements indicating Expressive Functions

- a) One of the main purposes of this group is to provide activities for the members. (This shows an internal focus and impingement.)
- b) I get a great deal of enjoyment out of the activities of the University Women's Club in which I take part. (Intrinsic enjoyment of activities.)
- c) The activities of the group in which I take part are valuable in and for themselves. I would take part in these activities, regardless of whether they ever accomplish anything. (Immediate gratification, with no thought of accomplishing any goal.)

2. Three statements indicating Instrumental Functions

- a) Members of this group often try to control or change some of the actions of people or other groups outside of this group itself. (Outside impingement, outward focus, attempt to control or change non-members, external goal.)
- b) I participate in the activities of this group because it is working for goals in which I believe. (Deferred gratification.)

⁵ Renato Tagiuri, "Introduction," to R. Tagiuri and L. Petrullo, eds. Person Perception and Interpersonal Behavior (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), xi and xiv.

⁶ These scales were devised by A.P. Jacoby for a study of Ukrainians in Alberta conducted by members of the Department of Sociology, University of Alberta. Similar scales were used by Jacoby in "An Investigation of Instrumental and Expressive Voluntary Associations," (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Rochester, 1960).

- c) I get much satisfaction from knowing that, in the long run, the group accomplishes worthwhile and desirable results. (Deferred gratification, long range goals important to the member.)

Two points were given for each statement agreed to in full, one point for each statement with which the respondent partly agreed and no score for statements with which the respondent disagreed. This resulted in two scores for each respondent, one for expressive items and one for instrumental items, with a range of zero to six. A score of four or more was taken to indicate that the respondent perceived the association to have either instrumental or expressive aims and activities. The relationships studied would probably have shown more clearly if members perceiving the association to have only instrumental aims had been compared with members perceiving the association to have only expressive aims. However, as

TABLE I.--NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AND/OR EXPRESSIVE AIMS

	%	N
Instrumental aims only (scored 4 or more on instrumental scale; scored less than 4 on expressive scale)	24	15
Both instrumental and expressive aims (Scored 4 or more on both scales)	51	32
Neither instrumental nor expressive aims (No score of 4 or more)	16	10
Expressive aims only (scored 4 or more on expressive; less than 4 on instrumental)	9	6
Total	100	63

Table I shows, the sample provided too few cases in these categories. Therefore, the thirty-seven respondents who perceived the University Women's Club to have very instrumental aims (scores of five or six) were compared with the twenty-six respondents who did not perceive the association to have instrumental aims (scores of four and under); and

the twenty-eight respondents who perceived the association to have very expressive aims (scores of five or six) were compared with the thirty-five respondents who did not (those scoring four or less on the expressive scale).

D. Characteristics of Members of Expressive Associations as Compared with Characteristics of Members of Instrumental Associations

Studies of voluntary associations to date using the instrumental-expressive typology have considered either instrumental or expressive groups.⁷ A summary is presented of Babchuk and Gordon's explanation for the following tentative findings regarding characteristics of members of these two kinds of groups. Members of instrumental associations as compared with members of expressive associations are:

1. Less likely to have joined through personal influence.⁸
2. More likely to influence others to join the association.⁹
3. More likely to be married and thus less likely to live alone.¹⁰
4. Less likely to attend meetings regularly and, if they are church members, less likely to attend church regularly also.¹¹

These findings are explained as follows:

If one assumes a uniformly felt human need for close fellowship with others, he might expect the individual with many primary relationships already to be less likely to be a member of expressive

⁷ Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit.; Arthur P. Jacoby and N. Babchuk, "Instrumental and Expressive Voluntary Associations," Sociology and Social Research, 47 (July 1963), 461-71; N. Babchuk and R.V. Thompson, op. cit.; A.P. Jacoby, "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership," Sociological Inquiry, 35 (Spring 1965), 163-75 ; A.P. Jacoby, "Personal Influence and Primary Relationships: Their Effect on Association Membership," op. cit.; N. Babchuk and J.N. Edwards, "Voluntary Associations and the Integration Hypothesis," Sociological Inquiry, 35 (Spring 1965), 149-62.

⁸ Babchuk and Gordon, op. cit., 54, 124.

⁹ Ibid., 54.

¹⁰ Ibid., 45-47, 94.

¹¹ Ibid., 46-48, 111.

voluntary associations than the person with few primary relationships. The latter would have an unmet need for the satisfaction of close, personal fellowship and would be motivated to join expressive associations in the hopes of finding such gratification.¹²

These satisfactions would be obtained through attending meetings, and since by definition the activities of expressive associations are enjoyable in and of themselves, members of expressive groups would be expected to attend more regularly than members of instrumental associations.

The same kind of personal satisfaction from association with others can be obtained from attending church regularly and from being personally influenced to join an association (both being characteristics of members of expressive associations). Expressive needs can often be better met in a small group, so there is no impetus for members of expressive groups to influence others to join. Also members who are expressively oriented to instrumental groups (i.e. they join to find satisfying relationships) feel less involved in the aims of the association than do instrumentally oriented members, and thus are less successful proselytizers. Recruiting new members for an instrumental association is a means of implementing the aims of the association.

E. Perception of the University Women's Club and Organizational Behavior

Since perception influences behavior, similarities would be expected between members of expressive associations and members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims; and between members of instrumental associations and members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims. Distinguishing characteristics of members of instrumental and expressive associations are 1) the manner of affiliation and 2) influencing others to join. Studies have shown that members of instrumental associations are less likely to join through personal influence than are members of expressive

¹²Jacoby, "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership," op. cit. 166.

TABLE II.-- RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB
TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS TO INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN

Perception of the UWC as having instrumental aims	Number Influenced to join the UWC ^a		
	None	1-3	N
Low	85% (22)	15% (4)	100% (26)
High	62% (21)	38% (13)	100% (34) ^b
	72% (43)	28% (17)	100% (60) ^b

$$\chi^2 = 3.79, df = 1, P > .05, Q = .55.^c$$

^a Respondents were asked how many members they had influenced to join within the past year.

^b Three respondents with "don't know" answers were omitted.

^c Gamma scores of $\pm .43$ or greater are considered to show a positive or negative relationship between the two variables.

associations, but they are more likely to have influenced others to join the association than are members of expressive associations. The first hypothesis is that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS INFLUENCE OTHERS TO JOIN THE ASSOCIATION MORE THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS. THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE IN INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN BETWEEN MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND THOSE WHO DO NOT. This hypothesis is supported by the data in Tables II and III. This also supports the general expectation that members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims will be similar to members of instrumental associations and members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims will be similar to members of expressive associations.

This expectation was tested further by the second hypothesis that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE

TABLE III.--RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB
TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS TO INFLUENCING OTHERS TO JOIN

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	Number Influenced to join the UWC ^a		
	None	1-3	N
Low	69% (24)	31% (11)	100% (35)
High	76% (19)	24% (6)	100% (25) ^b
	72% (43)	28% (17)	100% (60) ^b

$$\chi^2 = .40, df = 1, P > .05, Q = -.18.$$

^a Respondents were asked how many members they had influenced to join within the past year.

^b Three respondents with "don't know" answers were omitted.

AIMS JOIN THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE MORE OFTEN THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS, WHILE MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS JOIN THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE LESS THAN DO MEMBERS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS. This hypothesis is not supported by the data in Tables IV and V.

Table IV shows that, contrary to expectation, there is no relationship between perceiving the University Women's Club to have expressive aims and method of affiliation. Nor is perception of the association as having instrumental aims related to the manner of joining (Table V). It would seem that with respect to the manner of joining, members who perceive the association to have instrumental aims are not similar to members of instrumental associations and members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims are not similar to members of expressive associations. However, this hypothesis is based on the assumption that members' present perception of the

TABLE IV.--RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS TO JOINING THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	How Respondent Joined the UWC		
	Pers. Infl. ^a	On own ^b	N
Low	71% (25)	29% (10)	100% (35)
High	68% (19)	32% (9)	100% (28)
	70% (44)	30% (19)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = .09, df = 1, P > .05, Q = .08.$$

^aPersonal influence means joining at the invitation of a member.

^bThis included joining with friends who were not members.

TABLE V.-- RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS TO JOINING THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE

Perception of the UWC as having instrumental aims	How Respondent Joined the UWC		
	Pers. Infl. ^a	On own ^b	N
Low	65% (17)	35% (9)	100% (26)
High	73% (27)	27% (10)	100% (37)
	70% (44)	30% (19)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = .42, df = 1, P > .05, Q = -.18.$$

^aPersonal influence means joining at the invitation of a member.

^bThis included joining with friends who were not members.

association is the same as their perception of it when they joined, for it would be the perception of the association at the time of joining that would be related to the manner of affiliation. It has been noted that the expressive activities of the University Women's Club may be more visible to potential members than are the instrumental aims.¹³ There is

¹³See p.38.

TABLE VI.--RELATIONSHIP OF INTIMACY WITH BEST FRIEND TO FRIEND
CHANGING RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDES TO UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

Degree of intimacy with best friend ^a	Respondent's attitudes to UWC were changed		
	No	Yes	N
Low	83% (30)	17% (6)	100% (36)
High	48% (13)	52% (14)	100% (27)
	68% (43)	32% (20)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 8.82, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .69.$$

^aComposite index for degree of intimacy is in Appendix D.

also some indication that members who presently perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims did not join for instrumental reasons. Perception of the instrumental aims of the association would seem to be the result of the influence of associational friends. The closer the friendship, the more likely the friend is to influence the respondent's attitudes to the association (Table VI). The closeness of relationships in the association was found to be related to having had friends when the member joined (Table VII). It will be shown later ¹⁴ that members who continue to perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims tend to be inactive in the association, uncommitted and to have few very close friends. Two possible reasons are suggested by the data. Firstly, being without friends in the Club when one joins may make it difficult to become acquainted and become active. If this is true, it would mean that this association is not fulfilling an important function of voluntary associations with national affiliations, i.e. to cushion the effects of geographic mobility. Secondly, an analysis of the social characteristics of members indicates that those who perceive the association to have expressive aims tend to

¹⁴ See pp. 59-60.

TABLE VII.--HAVING UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FRIENDS SEEN SOCIALLY BEFORE BECOMING ACTIVE AND INTIMACY WITH BEST FRIEND

Had UWC friends seen socially before becoming active	Degree of Intimacy with best friend		
	Low	High	N
No	81% (26)	19% (6)	100% (32)
Yes	32% (10)	68% (21)	100% (31)
	57% (36)	43% (27)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 15.43, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .80.$$

have fathers with high status occupations in business or professions. To such women a university education may be something that is taken for granted. They may see no need for the University Women's Club to be concerned with making university education more accessible to women or improving the status of women in general. For this reason they do not accept the invitation open to all members to become active in the association. It may be that members must be psychologically ready or must have an inner motivation before they will accept other members' invitation to participate in the work of the association. It may be also that in an instrumental-expressive association close friendships are only formed through working together. Members with high status fathers do not work in the association and thus do not make close friends. They therefore continue to perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims (Table VIII).

In summary we can trace the following chain of events. Having friends in the association when a member joins leads to the formation of close personal relationships within the association. Working with these friends deepens the relationship and influences the new member to become aware of the instrumental aspects of the assoc-

TABLE VIII.--RELATIONSHIP OF FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS TO PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS

Father's Occupational Status	R. perceives UWC as having expr. aims		
	Low	High	N
Low (smaller business-man, white collar)	70% (23)	30% (10)	100% (33)
High (professional and upper business)	40% (12)	60% (18)	100% (30)
	56% (35)	44% (28)	100% (63)
$\chi^2 = 5.61, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .55.$			

iation, which she may not have been aware of when she joined.

Although the second hypothesis was not supported by the data, it did lead to some interesting discoveries, namely that perception of the association as having instrumental aims is to some extent dependent upon having worked with close friends in the association, which may in turn be dependent upon an inner motivation of the member to take part in such activities.

Although the data show that perception of the University Women's Club at present is not related to the method of joining, it may have been true at the time of joining that most members join for expressive reasons and that most members join through personal influence. Although the second hypothesis was not supported by the data, the findings in this chapter would still seem to support the general expectation that perception of the association is related to behavior in predictable ways: members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims tend to be similar to members of expressive associations, while members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims resemble members of instrumental associations.

CHAPTER VI

FRIENDSHIP AND COMMITMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

A. Friendships of Members who Perceive the Association to Have Instrumental Aims

A comparison of the League and the University Women's Club in Chapter III showed that they are similar in many ways, but that the League is an instrumental association while the University Women's Club is an instrumental-expressive association. It was noted that different members of the University Women's Club perceive the aims and activities of the association in different ways.¹ The way a member perceives the association is expected to be related to that member's organizational attitudes and behavior, specifically with regards to the kinds of friendship formed. There is some basis for the expectation that members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims will be similar to members of instrumental associations, such as the League.² For this reason, members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims would be expected to form task-oriented friendships, which are characteristic of active League members. Task-oriented friendships are concerned with organizational matters and are lacking in sociability. These aspects of task-oriented friendships are the basis for the third hypothesis: MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS

- a) WILL HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BEST FRIEND IN THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FOCUSED ON THE ASSOCIATION, and

¹ See Table I, p.41.

² See p.44.

TABLE IX.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS AND HAVING A FRIENDSHIP FOCUSED ON THE ASSOCIATION

Perception of the UWC as having instrumental aims	Focus of relationship with "best friend" ^a		
	Not on UWC	On the UWC	N
Low	65% (17)	35% (9)	100% (26)
High	40% (15)	60% (22)	100% (37)
	51% (32)	49% (31)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 3.77, df = 1, P > .05, Q = .47.$$

^aThis was measured by a composite index, see App. E, p. 89.

b) WILL HAVE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FRIENDS SEEN ONLY IN THE ASSOCIATION.

Table IX testing the first part of the hypothesis shows a positive relationship between the two variables and, although the chi-square is not significant, we may accept this data as supporting the first part of the hypothesis.

TABLE X.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE INSTRUMENTAL AIMS AND HAVING FRIENDS ONLY SEEN IN THE ASSOCIATION^a

Perception of the UWC as having instrumental aims	R has friends seen only in the UWC		
	No	Yes	N
Low	85% (22)	15% (4)	100% (26)
High	78% (29)	22% (8)	100% (37)
	81% (51)	19% (12)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = .09, df = 1, P > .05, Q = .21.$$

^aThis was used to indicate lack of sociability, see p.34.

The second part of the hypothesis is tested by the data in Table X. The data do not support this part of the hypothesis. Members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims have

TABLE XI.--HAVING A FRIENDSHIP FOCUSED ON THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB AND DEGREE OF INTIMACY WITH BEST FRIEND

Focus of relationship with "best friend" in the UWC	Degree of Intimacy with Best Friend		
	Low	High	N
Not on UWC	69% (22)	31% (10)	100% (32)
On the UWC	45% (14)	55% (17)	100% (31)
	57% (36)	43% (27)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 3.58, df = 1, P > .05, Q = .46.$$

friendships focused on the association, but they do not tend to be limited in sociability, as was the case with active League members. Rather, having a friendship focused on the association is positively related to intimacy (Table XI). This is consistent with the finding in Chapter V that the closer the friendship the more likely the respondent was to say that she had been influenced by her best friend to become aware of the instrumental aspects of the association. This leads to the interesting observation that in the League, a work-oriented group, sociability and concern for the association tended to be separate, while in the University Women's Club, which combines both sociable and work aspects, the friendships of active members combine intimacy with concern for the association.

B. Friendships of Members who Perceive the Association to

Have Expressive Aims

Members who perceive the University Women's Club to have expressive aims are expected to be interested in the association for the fellowship it provides. This is the case, since perceiving the association to have expressive aims is related to thinking that the association should endeavour to encourage friendships (Table XII). Because members who perceive the association as having expressive aims are interested in the

TABLE XII.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND THINKING THE ASSOCIATION SHOULD ENCOURAGE FRIENDSHIPS

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	Should the UWC encourage friendships?		
	No	Yes	N
Low	74% (25)	26% (9)	100% (34)
High	44% (12)	56% (15)	100% (27)
	61% (37)	39% (24)	100% (61) ^a

$$\chi^2 = 5.33, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .55.$$

^aTwo respondents answering "don't know" were omitted.

fellowship it provides, we would expect them to have intimate friends whom they see socially as well as in connection with the University Women's Club. Thus the fourth hypothesis states that MEMBERS WHO PERCEIVE THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS

- a) HAVE INTIMATE FRIENDS IN THE ASSOCIATION, and
- b) WILL HAVE ASSOCIATIONAL FRIENDS WHO ARE OFTEN SEEN SOCIALLY AS WELL AS IN UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB CONTEXTS.

Neither part of this hypothesis is supported by the data (Tables XIII and XIV). There is no relationship between perceiving the association to have expressive aims and intimacy with the best friend or seeing associational friends socially. It was suggested in Chapter V that friendships might result from working in the association, and that members who perceive the association to have expressive aims may not be motivated to do so. They tend to come from high status families of orientation, and they may not be aware that there is a need to improve the educational opportunities for women in Canada. On the other hand, members who were upwardly mobile tended to work in the association and made close friends who influenced them to perceive

TABLE XIII.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND INTIMACY WITH BEST FRIEND IN THE ASSOCIATION

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	Degree of intimacy with best friend		
	Low	High	N
Low	54% (19)	46% (16)	100% (35)
High	61% (17)	39% (11)	100% (28)
	57% (36)	43% (27)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = .26, df = 1, P > .05, Q = -.13.$$

TABLE XIV.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND SEEING UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB FRIENDS SOCIALLY

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	No. of UWC friends often seen socially		
	None or one	Two or more	N
Low	46% (16)	54% (19)	100% (35)
High	46% (13)	54% (15)	100% (28)
	46% (29)	54% (34)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = .00, df = 1, P > .05, Q = -.01.$$

the association as having instrumental aims.

Two other explanations could be suggested for this lack of close friends, 1) these could be relatively new members who have not had time to make friends or become involved, and 2) they could be generally less gregarious people. Table XV shows that the length of time in the association is not related to perceiving the association to have expressive aims; nor is gregariousness, as indicated by the number of close friends in Edmonton (Table XVI), related to perceiving the association to be expressive.

TABLE XV.--RELATIONSHIP OF WHEN RESPONDENT JOINED TO PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS

Respondent Joined the UWC	Perceiving the UWC to have expressive aims		
	Low	High	N
5 yrs ago or less	56% (14)	44% (11)	100% (25)
More than 5 yrs ago	55% (21)	45% (17)	100% (38)
	56% (35)	44% (28)	100% (63)

$\chi^2 = .00$, $df = 1$, $P > .05$, $Q = .02$.

TABLE XVI.--PERCEIVING THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB TO HAVE EXPRESSIVE AIMS AND THE NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS IN EDMONTON

Perception of the UWC as having expressive aims	Number of close friends in Edmonton		
	0 - 11	12 or more	N
Low	54% (19)	46% (16)	100% (35)
High	43% (12)	57% (16)	100% (28)
	49% (31)	51% (32%)	100% (63)

$\chi^2 = .81$, $df = 1$, $P > .05$, $Q = .23$.

C. Summary - Perception and Friendships in the University Women's Club

Although the formal aims of the University Women's Club stress instrumental interests, many of the activities of the association are expressive in character. To the extent that many members of the association are not aware that the University Women's Club has instrumental aims, it would seem that the Club has failed to project the ideal image pictured in associational publications--that of a group of responsible, educated citizens actively working to improve the educational opportunities and the status of women in Canada and in the world.

The active participation of local members mainly in study groups

with expressive interests and the difficulty experienced in finding members to work on "worthwhile" projects indicates that the majority of members are expressively oriented to the association, while some members are not even aware that it has a serious side.

As expected, perception of the University Women's Club as having instrumental or expressive aspects was related to activity and friendship in the association. Members who perceive the association as having expressive aims tend to think that the University Women's Club should do more to encourage friendship between members. This is interesting in view of the fact that these members do not usually have close friends in the association and do not see University Women's Club friends outside of the association. This is not because they are less gregarious than other members. The University Women's Club may not be an important reference group for these members. They tend to have come from relatively high status backgrounds and they may have been encouraged to join the association for the prestige they can bring to it. They may consider their continued membership as support for a worthwhile cause or as a charitable donation. Such members tend to be very inactive in the association.

Alternatively, members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims tend to have worked with their friends in the association. There is some evidence that perception of the instrumental aims comes through such participation and through the influence of friends since these members did not usually join the association for instrumental reasons. The closer the respondent is to her best friend, the more likely her attitudes to the association were changed by that friend. If a member had friends in the University Women's Club when she joined, there was a greater chance that she would become active in the association, make very close friends and perceive the association as having instrumental aims.

Thus perception of the association is related both to commitment and to friendship. Those who perceive the association as having expressive aims tend to have few close friends and to be inactive in the association. Those who perceive the association as having instrumental aims tend to have worked in the association and tend to have very close friends who share an interest in the University Women's Club and also frequently see each other socially. This mixture of "business and pleasure" may be characteristic of the friendships of active members in instrumental-expressive associations. It was noted in Chapter II that in the League, an action-oriented group, these two elements tended to be separate. It will remain for further research to determine whether these two different friendship patterns are characteristic of instrumental-expressive and instrumental associations respectively.

D. Agreement Between Friends on Organizational Matters

Friendships are formed between people with similar social characteristics, opinions and attitudes.³ Mutual influence between friends increases this similarity. Therefore, theoretically we would expect friends in the University Women's Club to agree on organizational matters, and the closer the friendship the greater the agreement. This is the basis for the fifth hypothesis: THE GREATER THE INTIMACY OF A FRIENDSHIP, THE GREATER THE AGREEMENT ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS. The data support this hypothesis, as shown in Table XVII.

The same hypothesis was tested in the League study⁴ but in that case intimacy was not found to be related to agreement on organizational matters. This was explained by the fact that League matters were not relevant to intimate friendships. The agreement between close friends in the University Women's Club on organiza-

³Merton and Lazarsfeld, op. cit.; Festinger, Schachter and Back, op. cit., 174.

⁴See Chapter II.

tional matters could then be explained by the fact that the expressive aspect of the association (gratification from satisfying primary relationships) is one facet of the University Women's Club program.

TABLE XVII.--RELATIONSHIP OF INTIMACY WITH THE BEST FRIEND TO AGREEMENT ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS^a

Degree of Intimacy with Best Friend in the UWC	Agreement on UWC matters ^a		
	No, or don't know	Yes	N
Low	72% (26)	28% (10)	100% (36)
High	30% (8)	70% (19)	100% (27)
	54% (34)	46% (29)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 11.27, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .72.$$

^a Respondent was asked to what extent she and her closest friend in the association have the same opinions about the association.

F. Friendship and Commitment

Most members join voluntary associations through personal influence.⁵ We have noted that personal influence was instrumental in changing some member's attitudes about the University Women's Club. It is expected that commitment to the association will also be the result of personal influence. The sixth hypothesis states that friends are important for commitment to the University Women's Club: THE MORE CLOSE FRIENDS IN THE ASSOCIATION, THE GREATER THE COMMITMENT TO THE ASSOCIATION. The data in Table XVIII support this hypothesis.

Closeness of association friendships is also related to commitment (Table XIX).

⁵ David L. Sills, The Volunteers (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 111; Gouldner, op. cit., 15.

TABLE XVIII.--RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF FRIENDS TO COMMITMENT^a

No. of close friends in the UWC	Degree of commitment to the UWC		
	Low	High	N
0-3	74% (28)	26% (10)	100% (38)
4 or more	28% (7)	72% (18)	100% (25)
	56% (35)	44% (28)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 12.75, \text{ df} = 1, P < .05, Q = .76.$$

^aCommitment was measured by a composite index, Appendix F, p.90.

TABLE XIX.--INTIMACY WITH BEST FRIEND AND COMMITMENT
TO THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

Degree of Intimacy with best friend in UWC	Degree of commitment to the UWC		
	Low	High	N
Low	72% (26)	28% (10)	100% (36)
High	33% (9)	67% (18)	100% (27)
	56% (35)	44% (28)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 9.45, \text{ df} = 1, P < .05, Q = .68.$$

Since intimacy with the best friend is related to commitment, and members who perceived the University Women's Club to have expressive aims tended not to have close friends in the association, it followed that such members would tend to be inactive in the association. Perceiving the University Women's Club to have expressive aims was negatively related to all aspects of commitment and activity.

Since having friends who were seen socially as well as in the organization before becoming active lead to very close friendships in the association⁶ and having close friends was related to commitment, having

⁶See p.48.

TABLE XX.--HAVING FRIENDS SEEN SOCIALLY BEFORE BECOMING ACTIVE
AND DEGREE OF ACTIVITY IN UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB NOW

Respondent had friends in UWC seen socially before becoming active	Present Degree of Activity		
	Not too Active	Quite or very active	N
No	91% (29)	9% (3)	100% (32)
Yes ^a	52% (16)	48% (15)	100% (31)
	71% (45)	29% (18)	100% (63)

$$\chi^2 = 11.74, df = 1, P < .05, Q = .80.$$

^aEleven respondents had eight or more close friends in the University Women's Club whom they often saw socially before they became active in the association.

friends in the association on joining was also found to be positively related to the present degree of associational activity (Table XX). Friends are important for commitment, both when the member joins and later when she becomes active. Personal influence between friends is also shown in the fact that University Women's Club friends tend to agree on organizational matters. Friends also influence perception of the association. Awareness of the instrumental aspects of the association seems to be the result, to some extent, of having close friends in the association who encourage the member to become active. Commitment and friendship tend to reinforce each other: friends influence the member to become active, and associational activity results in more close friendships. Friendships of active members in the University Women's Club were found to combine a shared concern for the association and sociability.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this study has been on friendship and commitment in the University Women's Club of Edmonton. The wide range of activities of the association resulted in members perceiving the aims and activities of the association in different ways.

Using two scales devised by Jacoby, respondents were classified according to whether they perceived the University Women's Club to have instrumental (social action) and/or expressive (sociable) aims.

Using interview and questionnaire data collected in January and February of 1965 from sixty-three members of the University Women's Club, six hypotheses were tested. These hypotheses were based on a study made in 1959 of friendship and commitment in the Los Angeles League of Women Voters. Similarities and differences between the League and the University Women's Club were discussed using a typology of voluntary associations developed by Babchuk and Gordon. Both associations were similar in prestige and accessibility and in the social characteristics of the members. However, the League was an instrumental (work-oriented) association while the University Women's Club was an instrumental-expressive association (combining social-action functions and sociability). As an exploratory study, the League study used factor analysis to determine dimensions of commitment and friendship. "Task-oriented" friendships, characterized by a shared concern for the association and a lack of sociability, were unexpectedly found to be important for commitment to the League. These findings provided useful insights for the present study of the University Women's Club.

Preliminary field work showed that members of the University Women's Club perceive the aims and activities of the association in

different ways. The way in which a member perceives the association was hypothesized to be related to associational behavior and to the kinds of friendship formed in the association. Members who perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims were expected to have similar characteristics to members of instrumental voluntary associations. This expectation was tested by the first two hypotheses. The data supported the first hypothesis, that members who perceive the association to have instrumental aims tend to influence more people to join the association than do members who do not perceive the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims. The second hypothesis was not supported by the data. Members who perceive the association to have instrumental aims do not tend to join the association through personal influence less than members who do not perceive the association to have instrumental aims, as had been expected. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the member's present perception would be similar to the way she perceived the association when she joined, for it would be the perception at the time of joining that would be related to the method of affiliation. There is some indication that the expressive aspects of the association are more visible to potential members than are the instrumental functions, and that most members join for expressive reasons. Members who presently perceive the association to have expressive aims tend not to have worked in the association and tend not to have close friends there. This may be explained in part by the fact that their fathers tended to have high status occupations, and therefore these members felt no need to work for better educational opportunities for women. They came from financially secure homes where a university education was easily available. Members who perceive the association as having expressive aims joined the association for the fellowship it provides. It was

therefore hypothesized that these members would have close friends in the association whom they saw socially as well as in connection with the University Women's Club. This was not, however, found to be the case. Possibly because they did not participate actively in the association, members who perceived the association to have expressive aims tended to have no close friends in the association and did not see University Women's Club friends socially.

Members who perceived the association to have instrumental aims were hypothesized to have friendships focused on the association and limited in sociability, similar to the task-oriented friendships that were important in the League (an instrumental association). This hypothesis was only partly supported by the data. Members who perceived the association to have instrumental aims tended to have friendships combining an interest in the association with sociability and intimacy. It seems that such members tended to make close friends through participating actively in the association. These friends tended to change the member's perception of the University Women's Club from expressive to instrumental.

As hypothesized, friendships, both at present and before the member became active in the association, are strongly related to every aspect of commitment and activity in the association. It is interesting that activity, commitment and the degree of intimacy with the best friend in the association tend to be greater when the member had close friends in the association at the time she joined. This implies that new members who have no friends in the association when they join may find it difficult to make friends and become active.

As hypothesized, the closer the friendship the more friends

tended to agree on organizational matters. Since intimacy with the best friend was related to sharing a deep interest in the association, the degree to which a friendship was focused on the association was also positively related to agreement between friends on organizational matters.

The two scales used to measure members' perception of the association would seem to be useful instruments to identify the workers in the association (those perceiving the University Women's Club to have instrumental aims) and the less active, uncommitted members (those perceiving the association to have expressive aims). The fact that twenty-five per cent (16) of the respondents do not perceive the association as having instrumental aims¹ may explain the general feeling among the leaders that some members are apathetic to the association's goals.

Perception of the aims of the University Women's Club as being instrumental or expressive was related to friendships but not as expected. Intimacy and a shared concern for associational matters do not seem to be characteristic of different kinds of friendship in the University Women's Club as they were in the League. Rather they seem to be two different dimensions of the friendships of active, committed members of the association.

Further research may show that friendships combining a shared interest in the organization with intimacy are characteristic of active members of associations that combine both instrumental and expressive functions. Instrumental associations, on the other hand, would seem

¹See Table I, p.41 . Ten members perceived the association as having neither instrumental nor expressive aims, and six members perceived the association as having expressive aims only.

to be characterized by friendships deeply concerned with associational matters and limited in sociability.

Warriner and Prather have noted contrasting friendship patterns² in two types of associations which would both be categorized as expressive by the Babchuk-Gordon typology. The first is called "Pleasure in Performance" and includes groups which provide interesting activities for their members, such as square dance clubs or discussion groups. These groups are characterized by a very limited and superficial sociability, which allows members with very different general social characteristics to interact together in one group.

The second type of association is termed "Sociability" and is typified by "a very stable membership in which members are lost through death or a move and are not replaced by new members." Relationships involve many aspects of the person, providing "a knowledge-in-depth of each other's life histories that is not found in any other type of organization."

Hence it would seem that different kinds of associations do have different characteristic friendship patterns.

Further research would be necessary to determine whether the findings of this study are unique to the University Women's Club or whether they are characteristic of instrumental-expressive associations in general. No particular characteristics of the University Women's Club were noted that would be expected to bear any special influence on the relationships being studied. Rather it would be expected that most instrumental-expressive associations would have:

²Charles K. Warriner and J.E. Prather, op. cit.

1. Some members who perceive the association as having mainly expressive aims while other members perceive it as having instrumental aims;
2. Perception of the association would be related to friendship and activity. Those perceiving the association to be expressive would tend to be inactive and have few very close friends in the association. Those perceiving the association to have instrumental aims would be active, would influence others to join, and would have close friendships characterized by a shared concern for the association and sociability outside of the association.
3. Commitment would be related to having many close friends in the association and to having had friends when the member joined.
4. Both intimacy and sharing a deep interest in the association would be related to commitment and to agreement between friends on organizational matters.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has implications both from the point of view of social organization and social psychology.

Social organization is concerned with the characteristics of different kinds of groups. Such aspects as the cohesion of groups or their ability to achieve their aims would be affected by the primary relationships within the group and the way in which members perceive the group. Little research has been done on the types of primary relationships or friendship patterns that occur in different types of groups. The question of leadership and the "active minority" and "passive majority" may benefit from analysis of different kinds of groups, how members perceive the groups and the friendship patterns that evolve. A better understanding of organizational growth and

change may result from a consideration of these factors over time. Changes in the proportion (or the actual number) of members perceiving an organization to have either expressive or instrumental aims would have implications for the success or failure of the group to function effectively and achieve its goals. Studies such as the present one may help to provide an understanding of what these changes would mean to the future growth and program of an organization.

A consideration of the functions of voluntary associations for the individual and for society would benefit from the classification of associations along the instrumental-expressive dimension.

The consideration of the expressive aspects of voluntary associations raises the general question as to whether individuals have an innate need for satisfying primary relationships. This has important social implications in view of the increasing number of elderly people in the society, many of whom exist virtually in social or psychological isolation.

A better understanding of the kinds of friendship patterns that arise in secondary associations and how these are related to commitment and activity may prove helpful to social psychology in relation to such matters as why people join groups, personal influence, attitude change, public opinion formation, deviants and group therapy.

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If employed outside the home, please give KIND of employment (do not give the name of the employer in any case, but the type of employment).

4. Did you ever have (or have you now) a position that you would consider to be a career?
a) no
b) yes. What kind of position?
5. What was your first full-time job?
6. What was your father's principal lifetime occupation?
7. Is your father a university graduate? Is your mother?
8. Do you feel that in general you are better off than your parents were at your age?
a) yes
b) no
c) just about the same
9. Was your childhood spent
a) mainly in Edmonton
b) mainly in a city other than Edmonton
c) mainly in a town
d) mainly on a farm

Please explain why, if these do not apply: _____

10. How many brothers and sisters did you have (give total only) _____
11. Were you a) the oldest b) the youngest c) neither oldest nor youngest
12. How long have you lived in Edmonton? a) less than 1 year
b) from one to 5 years
c) from 5-1/2 to 10 years
d) more than 10 years

United Nations

UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB STUDY

13. Do you consider yourself to be a member of a church, synagogue, or other religious organization? a) yes
b) no
c) other (please specify) _____
14. Are you a) a Protestant e) member of another religious grouping (specify) _____
b) a Roman Catholic
c) of the Orthodox Faith f) of no religious faith
d) a Jew
15. About how often, on the average, have you attended religious services during the last year?
a) 4 or more times per month d) about once a month
b) about 3 times per month e) seldom
c) about twice per month f) never

IF YOU ARE SINGLE, YOU CAN GO DIRECTLY TO Q. 26 at the top of the next page

16. What is (or was) your husband's occupation? _____
17. What was your husband's first full-time job? (do not include summer employment) _____
18. Is your husband a university graduate? a) yes b) no
19. How many organizations or clubs in each of the following categories does your husband belong to?
a, _____ service clubs
_____ church groups (do not count church membership, just groups connected with the church)
_____ Home and School, youth work leader, etc.
_____ political party or political organizations
_____ UN or international affairs clubs, etc.
_____ social groups, square dancing, bridge, etc.
_____ hobby or sports clubs
_____ fraternal societies, lodges
_____ other (Legion, etc.) _____
20. How many organizations connected with his occupation does he belong to that he joined voluntarily (i.e. he was not required to join them because of his occupation.) _____

If you are not sure whether any membership is voluntary or not, please give the name of the organization:

21. How many children do you have? _____
22. How many preschool? _____ 23. How many in Grades 1-9? _____
24. How many in High School? _____ 25. How many others? (working married university, etc.) _____

26. (To be answered by both SINGLE and MARRIED respondents)
If you were (or if you did have) a boy, what kind of job would you
LIKE him to have?
-
27. Would you (or did you) want him to attend University? a) yes b) no
(If yes) How disappointed would you be if he did not?
a) very b) quite c) not too d) not much e) not at all
28. If you have (or if you did have) a girl, what kind of job would you
LIKE her to have?
-
29. Would you (or did you) want her to attend university? a) yes b) no
(If yes) How disappointed would you be if she did not?
a) very b) quite c) not too d) not much e) not at all
30. Are you or your husband property owners? a) yes b) no
31. How important are Municipal politics to you?
a) very b) fairly c) not too d) totally unimportant
32. How important are Provincial politics to you?
a) very b) fairly c) not too d) totally unimportant
33. How important are Dominion politics to you?
a) very b) fairly c) not too d) totally unimportant
34. How interested are you in local affairs in general?
a) very b) fairly c) not too d) totally unimportant
35. How interested are you in national and/or international affairs in
general?
a) very b) fairly c) not too d) totally unimportant
36. Which would you say you are more interested in:
a) local happenings
b) national or international affairs
37. Did you vote in the last election (municipal election, Oct. 1964)?
a) yes
b) unable to vote (ill, out of town, etc.)
c) did not vote wilfully
d) don't remember
38. In the past year did you have any traffic or parking tickets?
a) did not drive
b) drove but had no tickets
c) drove and had one ticket only
d) drove and had two tickets
e) had more than two tickets
39. Did you donate blood at all during the past year? a) yes b) no
c) tried, but was rejected

40. In what country were you born? _____
41. How many organizations or clubs in each of the following categories do you belong to? (Do not include the University Women's Club.)
- a) _____ church groups (do not include church membership)
 - b) _____ service clubs
 - c) _____ Home and School, Community Leagues
 - d) _____ Youth work (include Sunday School teacher in here)
 - e) _____ U.N. or other international clubs
 - f) _____ hobby or sports clubs or social clubs (golf, bridge, dancing, etc.)
 - g) _____ fraternal society
 - h) _____ other
42. Have you joined any organization or clubs VOLUNTARILY in connection with your occupation? a) yes b) no (If yes) How many? _____
- (If there are any you are not sure of, as to whether they are voluntary or not, list the names below:)
- _____
- _____
- _____
43. Of all the voluntary association memberships listed above, and including University Women's club membership, but not including church membership, which one membership is the most important to you?
- _____
44. How hard did you find it to make this choice?
- a) very hard b) not too hard c) easy
45. Going back to question 41, please give the letters indicating any kinds of groups in which you now hold executive positions:
- _____
46. Similarly, please give the letters indicating any kinds of groups in which you now serve on a committee:
- _____
47. How many executive positions do you hold in the U.W.C.?*
48. How many have you held in the past? _____
49. How many committees do you now serve on in the UWC?*
50. How many committees have you served on in the past? _____
(include study group convenorships, being a representative of the UWC to other groups, Library Committee member, etc.)
51. How much leisure time do you usually have?
- a) a lot b) quite a bit c) some d) not much e) none

*The initials UWC may be used for University Women's Club.

52. Please put the numbers 1 and 2 opposite the two things in the following list that give you the MOST satisfaction in life.

- a) job or career
- b) family relationships
- c) leisure time, recreational activities
- d) religious beliefs and activities
- e) participation in politics or in the affairs of the community
- f) other (please specify)

53. In general, how satisfied would you say you are with your life at the present time?

- a) very satisfied
- b) quite satisfied
- c) not too satisfied
- d) not at all satisfied

54. If you had ready access to a television set, which five programs would you most like to watch? (If you don't know the names, indicate what kind or kinds of programs you would like to watch)

- a)
- b) I don't know:

55. What magazines do you read regularly and fairly thoroughly?

56. What newspapers do you read regularly and fairly thoroughly?

57. What parts of the newspaper do you usually read?

- 1. front page
- 2. women's section
- 3. foreign news
- 4. national news
- 5. local news
- 6. editorials
- 7. sports
- 8. comics
- 9. other (specify)

58. Which part do you usually read first?

59. Please list any books you have read since September, 1963:

60. Did you belong to any clubs when you were in public school? (such as Brownies, Explorers, Guides, Girl Scouts, C.G.I.T., etc.) a) yes b) no

61. Were you a member of any organizations when you were in high school? (such as high school sororities, sports clubs, church groups, etc.)
 a) yes b) no
62. Did you belong to a fraternity or sorority at university? a) yes b) no
63. Were you a member of any other clubs or organizations while at university?
 a) no
 b) yes - only one or two
 c) yes - quite a few (from 3 to 5)
 d) yes - many (more than 5)
64. In general how enthusiastic are you now about your membership in the University Women's Club?
 a) a little b) fairly c) to a considerable extent d) very e) extremely
65. In the past year, how often did you attend General Meetings of the UWC?
 1. every meeting
 2. almost every meeting
 3. over half the meetings
 4. about half the meetings
 5. less than half the meetings
 6. one meeting
 7. none
66. Please list any UWC study groups or committees you belonged to since September, 1963.
 name of study group Using categories in Q.65 how often did you attend meetings of each
67. Please check whichever of the following you attended:
 a) 1964 membership tea
 b) 1964 Christmas tea
 c) 1963-4 Annual Dinner
 d) the workshop held two years ago
68. If you were a member two years ago, did you complete and send in the questionnaire that was sent out from the local club?
 a) yes b) no c) was not a member then
69. If you had the time and money and were otherwise free to go, how would you feel about attending a CFUW Triennial Conference?
 a) would be very happy to attend
 b) would be quite happy to attend
 c) indifferent
 d) would rather not attend
 e) would definitely prefer not to attend

Mailed Questionnaire

University Women's Club Study

70. Suppose it were necessary for you to give up something in order to retain your present level of activity in the University Women's Club. How readily would you give up the following things?
- a) Some of the time you now give or have given to other organizations or groups?
 - a) Would not give up
 - b) Would reluctantly give up
 - c) Would readily give up
 - d) Presently spend no time in such activities
 - b) Some of the time you now spend in activities such as visiting, sports, movies, hobbies, watching television, etc.
 - a) Would not give up
 - b) Would reluctantly give up
 - c) Would readily give up
 - d) Presently spend no time in such activities.
71. Imagine that you were given the opportunity to participate in ANY part of the University Women's Club that you wished to, which part would you most like to be active in: (assume that time and money are available)
- a) a study group
 - b) attend General Meetings only
 - c) be on the executive of the Edmonton club
 - d) be on the national executive
 - e) be on the international executive
72. About how many persons would you say that you have personally influenced to join the University Women's Club in the past year?
73. How many of these were mainly influenced to join a particular study group, rather than to join the club as a whole?
74. How many of the women you influenced to join last year would you have considered at the time to be close friends rather than acquaintances?
75. In general, how well do you feel that you are accepted by the other members of the University Women's Club?
- a) not too well
 - b) quite well
 - c) very well

76

76 Please indicate whether you think the following six statements apply to the way you feel about the Edmonton University Women's Club in general or not. Mark each statement on the right hand side as follows:

- A - if the statement APPLIES
 P - if the statement applies PARTLY
 D - if the statement does not apply

If you belong to one or more study groups, would you please rank any ONE study group on the above statements, putting the correct letter beside each statement IN THE LEFT HAND MARGIN.

Any one
study group

Edmonton
Club in
general

1. I get a great deal of enjoyment out of the activities of the University Women's Club that I take part in.
2. One of the main purposes of this group is to provide activities for the members.
3. I participate in the activities of this group because it is WORKING FOR the goals which I believe in.
4. I get much satisfaction from knowing that, in the long run, the group ACCOMPLISHES worthwhile and desirable results.
5. The activities of the group in which I take part are valuable in and for themselves. I would take part in these activities, regardless of whether they ever accomplish anything.
6. Members of this group often try to control or change some of the actions of people or other groups outside of this group itself.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB 1943-1944

If you wish, you may go ahead and answer any questions NOT
TYPED IN CAPITAL LETTERS. These must be asked by the interviewer

Again check the letter of the correct answer or fill in the blank

1. When did you join the University Women's Club? _____
2. Did you join because of any particular study group? a) yes b) no
3. Did you join a) right after graduation
b) before marriage
c) before children were born (if re-married)
d) while you were employed full-time
e) after children were born (if so, what was the oldest
child's age at the time you joined? _____)
f) other (specify) _____
4. CAN YOU REMEMBER WHEN YOU JOINED AT THAT PARTICULAR TIME?
5. CAN YOU REMEMBER YOUR REASONS FOR JOINING THE UWOC?
6. DO YOU THINK YOUR REASONS FOR BELONGING ARE DIFFERENT NOW FROM WHEN
YOU FIRST JOINED? a) yes b) no

IF SO, IN WHAT WAY?

7. Which of the following statements is the closest to the way you feel
about your membership in the University Women's Club?
a) It is mainly a privilege to belong
b) It is more of a duty or an obligation to belong
c) It is both a privilege and an obligation to belong
d) It is neither a privilege nor an obligation to belong
8. Please choose the category below which best sums up the extent of
your present activity in the University Women's Club

a) inactive	b) a little active	c) fairly active	d) quite active	e) extremely active
-------------	-----------------------	---------------------	--------------------	------------------------
9. (if you checked a or b) Have you ever been more active during your
membership? a) yes b) no (Those answering "no" proceed to Q. 15)

The following questions to Q. 15 are just for those who have been fairly,
quite or extremely active at some time:

10. Which of the following were (or are) you active in:
a) study groups
b) in the local organization, as executive member, etc.
c) in CFUW
d) Library Committee
e) other

*The term UWOC will sometimes be used for University Women's
Club

Interview with

University Women's Club - 1960

11. Before you became active, how many of the women you knew in the UWC did you regard as "good" friends, even though you never or rarely saw them socially other than in connection with the UWC? _____
12. Before you became active, how many "close" friends did you have in the UWC, i.e. women you saw socially as well as in UWC activities? _____
13. How many of the friends mentioned in 11 and 12 did you work with on any committees or in any other way in the UWC? _____
14. (If you had friends and had worked with them) Did any changes take place in these particular friendships because you worked together in the UWC?
- a) no change
 - b) positive change
 - c) negative change
 - d) mixed negative and positive change

We were talking about friendships BEFORE you became active, now I'd like to ask you about the present time:

15. Now at the present time how many close friends would you say that you have in Edmonton? _____
16. How many of these belong to the University Women's Club? _____
17. Of these, how many do you only see in connection with the UWC? _____ and how many do you see socially as well as at UWC functions? _____
18. By and large, do you think the UWC should encourage the development of friendships or stick pretty close to its basic aims?
- a) Should encourage friendships
 - b) should not

WHY?

19. Which ONE of the different activities of the UWC do you value most? (It doesn't matter whether you are active in this way or not.)
- a) teas
 - b) Annual Dinner
 - c) General Meetings
 - d) executive committee
 - e) any special study group
 - f) library committee
 - g) national executive
 - h) triennial
 - i) other (specify) _____

WHY?

20. Members of the UWC differ in their sense of closeness to different parts of the organization. (You can check more than one, if it applies.)

Do you feel a real part of

- a) The Edmonton Club in general
- b) Any special committee or study group within the Club
- c) CPUW and IFUW (Do you know what the initials stand for without looking them up? a) yes b) no

21. Are you satisfied with the way things are run in Canada, or are there important social or governmental changes you would like to see take place?

- a) very satisfied

Before we proceed further with some of your opinions about women's groups of the University Women's Club, I would like to talk with you briefly about friendships in the UWC. Interestingly enough, this is one area of human relation that social scientists know very little about. One of the purposes of this study is to throw some light on the nature of friendships, particularly friendships in organizations like the UWC. I thought that the UWC would be an excellent place to do a study of friendships, since there are wide differences in the kind of relations that develop among the members, for one reason or another have gotten to know other UWC members very well. Others have not, often because they have their close friends outside the UWC.

So that we will have a particular relation to talk about, would you think a minute and write on a separate piece of paper the name of the one person you feel closest to in the UWC of Edmonton, that is, of all your friends or acquaintances in the UWC, whom do you regard as your closest friend? This person may be only an acquaintance and that at all be what you generally regard as a close friend, but as far as women in the UWC are concerned, this person comes nearest to being your closest friend. Writing down her name is only to make sure that you will be talking about the same person over a series of questions. I have no need to know what name you have written down. All questions refer to the UWC.

22. Have you ever been in the same study group or on any committee with her in the UWC?
 - a) yes
 - b) no
23. Generally, how well do you know her?
 - a) not very well
 - b) a little
 - c) somewhat
 - d) pretty well
 - e) extremely well
24. Of ALL your women friends, where would you place this person as being a close friend?
 - a) first
 - b) second
 - c) third
 - d) fourth or more
25. In general how much do you talk with her?
 - a) very little
 - b) a little
 - c) some
 - d) quite a bit
 - e) a great deal
26. What do you usually talk about?
 - a) family
 - b) friends
 - c) UWC matters
 - d) other

(can check more than one)
27. Do you ever talk over your personal problems with each other?
 - a) never
 - b) rarely
 - c) sometimes
 - d) usually
 - e) very frequently
28. Do you share any private kinds of jokes with her?
 - a) yes
 - b) no
29. Do you share any confidences with her?
 - a) yes
 - b) no

30. Do you ever call her up spontaneously, just to chat. If yes, or does she ever call you up?
- a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) quite often e) frequently
31. Are there important things about yourself that you do NOT discuss with her?
- a) a great many b) quite a few c) some d) very few e) almost none
32. How much do each of you know about the personal details of the other's life?
- a) very little b) a little c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
33. How often do you find your conversation with this friend pretty much limited to University Women's Club affairs?
- a) always b) usually c) sometimes d) rarely e) never
34. How often do you see each other socially, that is, apart from the UWC?
- a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) quite often e) very often
35. IN GENERAL, HOW MUCH DO YOU LIKE HER?
- a) a great deal b) quite a bit c) some d) a bit e) not much
36. WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT HER ESPECIALLY?
37. When you are with her, do you feel comfortable and at ease?
- a) not very b) a bit c) some d) quite a bit e) very much
38. When you are together, is it possible to tell what she is thinking even though she does not express her thoughts fully?
- a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) usually e) almost always
39. In situations where you do not, or cannot express a mood, do you think that she nevertheless knows how you feel?
- a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) usually e) almost always
40. Would it make some difference to you if for some reason you were not to see her again?
- a) not at all b) a bit c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
41. In general, how much does her approval or disapproval matter to you?
- a) very little b) a little c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
42. How active would you say that she is in the University Women's Club?
- a) inactive b) a little active c) fairly active d) quite active e) extremely active
43. To what extent do you have the same opinions and beliefs about the UWC?
- a) not at all b) a bit c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
f) don't know

45. How do you feel about the fact that you worked together on committees or other UWC activities?
 a) not much or b) a lot c) some d) quite a lot e) a great deal

46. In what ways do you think your relations with WFL has changed since you passed on to know her?

How do you account for these changes? Was being in the UWC together had anything to do with these changes?

DO YOU THINK THAT KNOWING HER HAS MADE ANY CHANGES IN YOU?
 WHAT KIND OF CHANGES? WHY?

46. HAS KNOWING HER AFFECTED YOUR ATTITUDES TO UWC MATTERS? IN WHAT WAY?

47. In general how do you feel about her as a person?

48. SOME MEMBERS THINK THAT ANY WOMAN INTERESTED IN THE AIMS OF THE UWC AND WHO WANTS TO BECOME A MEMBER SHOULD BE ADMITTED, REGARDLESS OF HER OWN ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT. WOULD YOU AGREE WITH THIS OR NOT?

A) Would agree. b) Would not agree Why?

49. Are you aware of the recent ruling regarding Associate members? a) yes b) no

50. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS RULING?

51. would you be in favour of: a) having as many UWC members in Edmonton as possible
 b) keeping the number about the same as it is now, or even smaller

Why?

52. DO YOU SEE ANY NEED FOR CHANGES IN THE LOCAL ORGANIZATION? a) yes b) no
 IF SO, IN WHAT WAY?

53. Some people think that a paid Executive Secretary for the Edmonton Club would be a good idea. HOW WOULD YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

54. CAN YOU REMEMBER ANY OF THE FORMAL AIMS OR GOALS OF THE UWC AS SET OUT IN THE CONSTITUTION?

The following questions are to be asked about each of the four main goals of the University Women's Club in turn. The table at the bottom of the page is supplied for the answers, except for Question D which may be answered in the space provided after the question. On the table answer straight across the top row for the eight questions regarding the first goal of the organization; the second row across is for the second goal, etc.

- A. Do you think that it is important for the UWC to have an active interest in this question?
(Fill correct answer in in the appropriate space in the table below.)
a) yes, very b) yes, quite c) to some extent d) not very e) not at all
- B. How much importance do you, personally, place on this aim of the UWC?
a) a great deal b) quite a bit c) some d) not much e) none
- C. Think of the person whom you respect most in the UWC. How important do you think she considers this topic?
a) very b) quite c) to some extent d) not very e) not at all
- D. Now think about the person closest to you outside of the UWC (husband, relative, friend, etc.) What do you think the opinion of this person is on this topic?
- Goal I
Goal II
Goal III
Goal IV
- E. How much pressure do you think the UWC has put on you as a member in regard to this subject?
a) a great deal b) some c) none
- F. Have you discussed this with other UWC members, or have you heard it discussed?
a) yes, quite a bit b) yes, some c) not at all
- G. Have you ever talked with your best friend in the UWC about this?
(the name you wrote down before) a) yes b) no
- H. What do you think her position is on this subject?
a) same as your own c) different from your opinion
b) almost the same as your own d) don't know

GOAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
I								
II								
III								
IV								

APPENDIX C
COMPARISON OF THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S
CLUB OF EDMONTON AND THE SAMPLE
ON SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
JANUARY, 1965

	<u>UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB</u>	<u>SAMPLE</u>
Number	100% (307)	100% (63)
Executive Members, Convenors, etc.	23% (70)	26% (16)
Associate Members ^a	8% (26)	6% (4)
Members who had joined in past year	5% (15)	8% (5)
Single members	13% (41)	11% (7)
Alberta degrees	50% (154) ^b	49% (31) ^b
Bachelor's degrees	73% (223) ^c	73% (46) ^c
Advanced degrees	19% (58) ^c	22% (14) ^c

^aWives of university faculty members who themselves do not have degrees.

^b50% of the total membership, and 49% of the total sample have Alberta degrees.

^c8% of the total membership and 5% of the sample have no degrees.

APPENDIX D

DEGREE OF INTIMACY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH BEST ORGANIZATIONAL FRIEND

The index was composed of the following items from the Interview

Schedule:

26. What do you usually talk about? a) family
b) friends
c) UWC matters
d) other
30. Do you ever call her up spontaneously, just to chat with her, or does she ever call you up?
a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) quite often e) frequently
32. How much do each of you know about the personal details of the other's life?
a) very little b) a little c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
34. How often do you see each other socially, that is, apart from UWC?
a) never b) rarely c) sometimes d) quite often e) very often
40. Would it make some difference to you if for some reason you were not to see her again?
a) not at all b) a bit c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal
41. In general, how much does her approval or disapproval matter to you?
a) very little b) a little c) some d) quite a bit e) a great deal

Scoring was as follows for all except Question 26:

- a) - 1 point
- b) - 2 points
- c) - 3 points
- d) - 4 points
- e) - 5 points

Question 26 was scored with two points for those not usually talking about family and/or friends and four points for those who did talk about family and/or friends with their best friend.

Scores ranged from eight to twenty-eight. The twenty-seven respondents having twenty-three points or more were classified as having a very close relationship with their best friend in the association.

APPENDIX E

THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BEST FRIEND IS FOCUSED ON THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

The following nine items from the Interview formed the index:

22. Have you ever been in the same study group or on any committee with her in the UWC? (1 point for a yes answer.)
43. To what extent do you have the same opinions and beliefs about the UWC? (1 point for any answer except "don't know.")
44. How much have you worked together on committees or other University Women's Club activities?
(1 point for the answer "some," "quite a bit" or "a great deal.")
- H - The question was asked for the two formal aims of the University Women's Club dealing with the status of women and international understanding: "What do you think (your friend's) position is on this subject?" One point was scored if the respondent knew what her friend's opinion was on the subject; i.e. one point for each aim.
- G - The following question was asked about all of the aims, with one point being scored for each yes answer:

Have you ever talked with your best friend in the University Women's Club about this?

The range of scores was from zero to nine, with the thirty-one respondents having scores of seven or more being classified as having a friendship focused on the University Women's Club.

APPENDIX F

THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

One question from the Interview Schedule and ten questions from the Mailed Questionnaire were combined to provide an index of the degree of commitment to the University Women's Club as a whole. The items and scoring were as follows:

8. (Interview) Please choose the category below which best sums up the extent of your present activity in the University Women's Club:

- | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| a) inactive | b) a little | c) fairly | d) quite | e) extremely |
| | active | active | active | active |

(Two points scored for "extremely active" one point for "quite active.")

47. How many executive positions do you hold in the University Women's Club? (One point for each.)

48. How many (executive positions) have you held in the past?
(One point for each.)

50. How many committees have you served on in the past?
(One point each.)

64. In general how enthusiastic are you now about your membership in the University Women's Club?(One point if "very" or "extremely.")

65. In the past year, how often did you attend General Meetings of the University Women's Club?

(One point if "over half the meetings" or more.)

66. Please list any University Women's Club study groups or committees you belonged to since September, 1963. (Interviews were conducted early in 1965.) (One point for each.)
67. Please check whichever of the following you attended:
- a) 1964 membership tea
 - b) 1964 Christmas tea
 - c) 1963-4 Annual Dinner (One point for each attended.)
70. Suppose it were necessary for you to give up something in order to retain your present level of activity in the University Women's Club. How readily would you give up the following:
- a) Some of the time you now give or have given to other organizations or groups?
 - b) Some of the time you now spend in activities such as visiting, sports, movies, hobbies, watching television, etc.
- (One point for each of a) and b) which the respondent would "readily give up.")

The scores ranged from zero to twenty-four. The twenty-eight respondents scoring six or more points were considered to have a high degree of commitment to the University Women's Club as a whole.

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